

Department of Architecture and

The Built Environment



CREATIVE CLUSTERS AND PLACE-MAKING:
ANALYSING THE QUALITY OF PLACE IN SOHO AND BEYOGLU

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Bsc. Arch, Msc Urb. Des.

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2012

to my dearest brother saglar,
whose absence led me to this journey.

ABSTRACT

CREATIVE CLUSTERS AND PLACE-MAKING:

Analysing the Quality of Place in Soho and Beyoglu

During the last decade creativity has become one of the buzz concepts of urban practice and research, and new concepts such as the *creative city*, *creative economy*, the *creative class*, *creative industries* and *creative clusters* have emerged (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). There are studies in economics and cultural geography, sociology and, to some extent in urban planning, exploring the creative city phenomenon. To date, however, there have only been a limited number of studies on understanding the dynamics and factors of the spatial conditions of the creativity debate in the discipline of urban design. The growing body of literature in these disciplines emphasises the need to identify and define the preferences and tendencies of creative industries, and also clustering activities.

Hence, the characteristics of cities that attract and retain the creative industries and creative types have become important; this concept is termed *quality of place* (Florida, 2002). In this context this research focuses on the morphological analyses of film industry-based inner-city creative clusters and explores the dynamics between creative clusters, quality of place and place-making processes. It aims to understand the spatial conditions and factors relating to the emergence, sustainability and growth of creative clusters, focusing on the location decisions of creative types (i.e. companies and people involved in creative production).

This exploratory, cross-national case study is conducted in Soho-London and Beyoglu-Istanbul. They are the inner-city locations where creative industries, in particular the film industry, and creative people cluster. The study applies qualitative and quantitative research techniques such as interviews, questionnaires, observations, and cognitive and cluster mapping.

The research concludes that there are three main factors contributing to the emergence, growth and sustainability of creative clusters; these are economics of clustering, location and quality of place, and face to face interactions. The research

suggests a tentative analytical framework for understanding the quality of place for the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters and for mapping the creativity potential of places. The overall quality of place involves the process of place-making of a particular location, not just the product it represents.

Walkability and permeability are identified as the key performance criteria of urban place, providing the movement and interaction which are the necessary conditions for clustering. Permeability of urban form enhanced with interactive micro urban public places plays a major role in facilitating the social interactions which collectively comprise the key aspect of urban and individual creativity, as people are inspired by each other. In addition, these complex layers, juxtaposed with urban form and land-use activities, are also interlinked with the socio-cultural setting and hence café culture, sense of community, and image also appear to be other factors contributing to clustering.

Participatory planning enhanced by community leadership and the involvement of landowners, creative entrepreneur-led initiatives and other informal processes related to the organic spatial dynamics of the place contributes to clustering; particularly the small-scale interventions. In addition to these organic approaches, research suggests that urban design and planning could contribute to sustainability of these clusters through ensuring the right scale of intervention, through controlling mechanisms and place-management strategies.

Key words: *Creative clusters, quality of place, place-making, the film industry, Soho, Beyoglu*

PUBLISHED SECTIONS

Journal Papers

Durmaz, B. Platt, S., Yigitcanlar, T., 2010, *Creativity, culture tourism and place-making: Istanbul and London film industries*, International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research, Vol 4, No 3, pp.198-213

Durmaz, B., Yigitcanlar, T., and Velibeyoglu, K., 2008, "Creative cities and the film industry: Antalya's transition to a Eurasian Film City", *The Open Urban Studies Journal*, 2008, 1, 1-10

Conference Papers

Durmaz, B., Platt, S., and Yigitcanlar, T., 2009, "Creativity, Culture and Tourism: The Case of Istanbul and London Film Industries", *In the proceedings of the Cities as Creative Spaces for Cultural Tourism Conference*, Bogaziçi University, Istanbul, 19 – 21 November 2009

Durmaz, B., Velibeyoglu, K., and Yigitcanlar, T., 2008, "Emergence of a creative city: Antalya a film-induced tourism centre", *In the proceedings of the 4th World Conference for Graduate Research in Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*, 23-27 Apr 2008, Otium Hotel Zeynep, Antalya, Turkey.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not be possible without the support of all these people I mention who were with me throughout the different stages of the research for nearly four years. First and foremost, I extend my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Stephen Platt, for his constant support, for his positive constructive feedback, friendship and hospitality, and for sharing his extensive knowledge with me. To Professor Tim Heath, my supervisor, I am deeply grateful for his constant and illuminating encouragement, advice and support in my research and to Dr Katharina Borsi for her critical inspiring feedback, and for giving me the opportunity to participate in urban design studios and the Urban Design Research Group Seminar which expanded my vision.

I also would love to thank my examiners Professor Taner Oc and Professor Ali Madanipour whose comments and knowledge improved this thesis a great deal. I would like to thank for their great contribution to my knowledge, for all their supportive critical feedback and for the most precious, valuable examination I had ever.

I am also grateful to the Department of Architecture and Built Environment and the Graduate School for providing a place of excellence offering an academic environment that contributed to, and enhanced, the development of my academic experience. I would like to thank the University of Nottingham, Department of Architecture and International School who offered me the opportunity to pursue my PhD studies in the United Kingdom by granting me a three-year co-funded PhD scholarship. In addition, I also would like to thank my previous university, Izmir Institute of Technology, where I commenced my PhD research and all my colleagues and the professors who inspired me and contributed to my current knowledge of architecture and urban design. To all my colleagues and friends, and particularly Dr Koray Velibeyoglu and Dr Tan Yigitcanlar who introduced me to the concept of the creative city, who inspired me to pursue a PhD abroad, and who provided me with remote support, I express my gratitude.

This research would not be possible without the participation and kindness of all the research participants, whose willingness to share their experiences and friendly approach made it a pleasure for me to conduct the research in Beyoglu and Soho. In particular, I must thank the Soho Society and the Cihangir Neighbourhood Association for providing me with the information I need and for helping me contact their members; and also special thanks to the Soho Society for letting me attend their monthly and annual meetings as a `observer`, for inviting me to all Soho community events and for helping me during my stay in Soho.

Special thanks to all my PhD colleagues at our lovely but 'bright-white lit' research building, SRB, especially Işın Can, Solmaz Khoshkholghi, Aneel Klaire, Omar Ibraheem, Ehab Kamel, Tom Froggatt who enriched my research through the numerous in-depth discussions that we shared relating to the field of architectural and urban design and to all other SRB colleagues.

I would like to thank to my dearest friends Meltem San and Seda Alpaykut for their great hospitality during my stay in Istanbul; and it would be remiss if I did not mention the endless support they provided me with, by taking photographs for me around İstiklal Caddesi. I am thankful to my cousins Sinan Durmaz and Osman Durmaz and my friends Pelin Kurultay and Mine Ulema for their support in transcribing the interviews for me.

I would love to thank to Sophie N`Jai, 'the invisible hero', my proof reader, whose feedback improved my work and contributed a lot in communicating the research findings. Without her help, it would not have been possible to exactly express what I wanted to say and to see the 'big picture' which contributed to discussing the findings.

One occupies a unique space, however; time is what we share. Many thanks to my dearest Işın Can, who is the one who inspired me to come to Nottingham, who is the one who has been with me since the beginning; for her endless support, for cheering up my daily office environment and for making this PhD journey meaningful and stimulating. I would love to thank to Marta Larraona Puy, my extensive energy source, my exercise buddy, my Spanish sister, whose support and enthusiasm has been a great motivation for me. I also would like to thank to Neil Drinkwater, my favourite Sohomaniac, the primary source, the sea bird, Red, the best Soho pianist ever, whose contribution and participation throughout this research was a great source of inspiration for me. Exploring 'his' Soho, 'Soho characters and characteristics' through his eyes and experiencing his curiosity for Soho was the most enjoyable part of this research.

Last, but not least, I am truly grateful to my parents Nurşen and Mustafa Durmaz who have been with me throughout the every step of the way with their love and believing in me. This thesis would not be possible without their support to pursue a study abroad despite all their parental worries and desires.

I feel lucky to have experienced this intellectual, mental, psychological journey and the emotional endurance test, which was truly the hardest one I have ever achieved. My special thanks go to everyone whom I met along the way which makes this journey itself more valuable than the actual product itself.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHRB: Centre for British Film and Television Studies

CABE: Centre for Architecture and Urban Design

CITF: Creative Industries Task Force

DCMS: Creative Industries Mapping Document

GLC: Greater London Council

GLA: Greater London Authority

IMP: Istanbul Metropolitan Planning Bureau

ONS: Office for National Statistics

QTC: Quality in Town and Country

RYD: Turkish Advertising Producers' Association (Turkiye Reklam Yapimcilari Dernegi)

SE-SAM: Turkish Cinematic Production Owners' Union (Turkiye Sinema Eseri Sahipleri Birligi)

UDC: Urban Design Campaign

ACRE: Accommodating Creative Knowledge-Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AND THE PROBLEM DEFINITION

This research explores the spatial conditions of creative clusters (i.e. companies and people involved in creative activities) focusing on the various debates that have emerged from the array of geography, economics, urban design and planning studies. This study intends to offer a platform from which the theories within several disciplines can be linked relating to the changing conditions of city life and their spatial expressions. The research addresses those *socio-spatial processes of the built environment* (Madanipour, 1996) that could harness people's imagination and talent and also those spatial conditions that allow creative and artistic production to 'happen'. As Landry (2000) emphasised, the changing paradigms of the twenty first century inspire research towards a more human-centred direction, as people are seen as the key urban actors and factors in urban change, in numerous ways:

"Cities have one crucial resource - their people. Human cleverness, desires, motivations, imagination and creativity are replacing location, natural resources and market access as urban resources. The creativity of those who live in and run cities will determine future success" (Landry, 2000: xiii).

Related to urban research is to understand how the actions, decisions and needs of people are calling for change and also changing the spatial conditions: "We cannot solve twenty-first century problems with nineteenth century mindsets; the dynamics of cities and the world urban system have changed too dramatically". Landry (2000: xii).

It is claimed that the newly emerging phenomenon, *the knowledge economy*, is the conceptual definition of the changing socio-economic paradigms of the twentieth and twenty first centuries (Madanipour, 2011). It is suggested that this new phenomenon, also referred to as *the creative economy or new economy*, leads to *knowledge-based urban development* (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008b). The changing socio-economic patterns are defined as the transformation of agricultural-based economies to industrial-based economies, and the change over the last two decades is described as the transition from the industrial-based economies into *knowledge-based economies* (Florida and

Tinagli, 2004). In the knowledge economy the demand for *human capital* as the engine of economic and social growth becomes as important as *financial capital*; hence, intelligent, knowledge, creativity and innovation are suggested as the driving forces of this new economy. Parallel to these growing trends, Florida (2002) introduced the concept of *creative capital*. The creative capital theory concerns the particular group of people named as the *creative class* (e.g. occupations in architecture, arts, design, and media) which is considered the source of the creative capital (Florida, 2002). Apart from ideas about a creative class of people, theories about creativity and its relation to urban place have gained increased prominence amongst urban planners, policy makers, and scholars. Within this wider array of debates, it is Landry (2000) who conceptualised the concept as *the creative city* and who has influenced the further theoretical research in several different disciplines as well as influencing related practices, i.e. urban policies, strategies and investments. Figure 1.1 explains the theoretical underpinnings of the creative city debate.

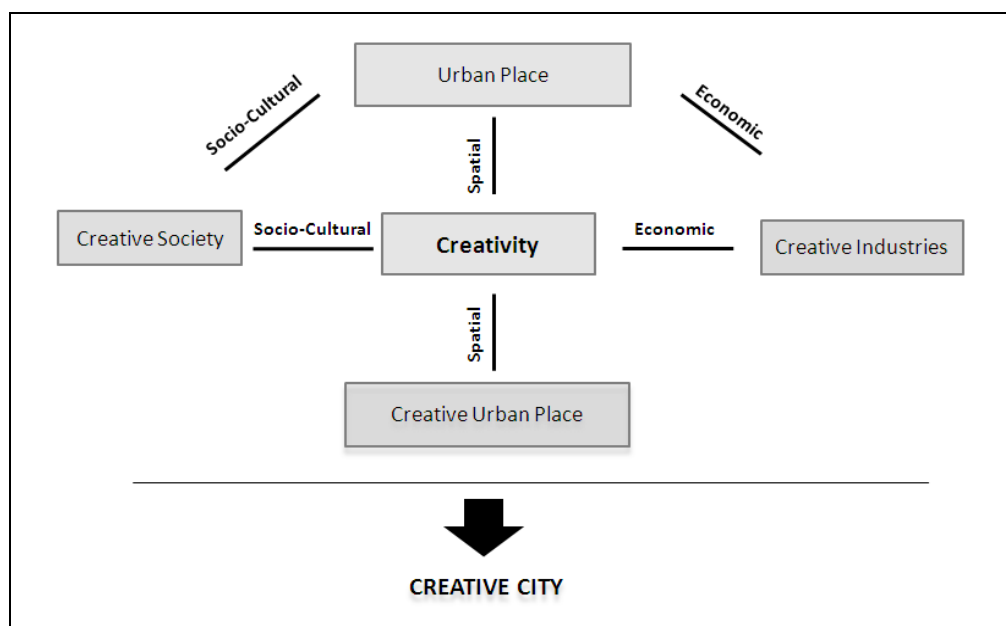


Figure 1.1 Creativity and Urban Place

Creativity and its relation to urban place, broadly defined as *the creative city*, has become the focus of the research in various disciplines comprising geography, sociology, and economics and also to some extent in urban planning, each

investigating the different layers of the phenomenon¹. However there is only limited research in the urban design discipline such as Madanipour (2011) and Montgomery (2007) exploring the potential of urban place that could accommodate creative industries and creative people and harness the creativity potential of cities through design and planning. The urban studies literature suggests that creativity can be harnessed through spatial planning, and that a creative city is possible by fostering the key characteristics which will attract the creative capital, creative people and also creative industries. Alongside this emerging debate, many city authorities developed creative city task forces, reports, and bulletins addressing how to become a creative city. There are several debates in the literature related to making a creative city, such as how to accommodate creative industries in cities, how to attract and retain creative people and how to design and plan to be a creative city. That is why it is also necessary to understand the role of urban place, design and planning in the creative economy and in making the creative city. To what extent we can design or plan these creative environments needs to be explored.

There are two main approaches towards accommodating creative industries in cities; one is investing in inner cities and the other one is developing purpose-built creative districts or precincts on the outskirts of cities. After the 1980s, the decline in city centres impelled policy makers and city authorities to find ways to regenerate city centres; especially locating creative industries in the central locations which are termed *cultural quarters* (Evans, 2005, 2009a, 2009b). These places have become the focus of regeneration and centres for creative industries (Landry et al., 2004). At this point the key question is how, through spatial planning, to help creative industries to flourish in these inner-city districts. It is important, therefore, to investigate the clustering process focusing on the locational and property requirements of these industries in order to respond to their specific needs (Gornostaeva, 2009; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008c). The prospects and constraints of locating these industries in the inner cities need to be examined. This will also shed light on the dilemma between clustering creative industries in the inner city and developing new districts. This needs to be

known to understand the reasons behind the decentralisation process from city centres towards the peripheries.

At this juncture, the creative clusters phenomenon becomes important in terms of understanding the location dynamics of creative industries.

As it is suggested that clustering leads to economic prosperity through providing a competitive advantage (Porter, 1998), it is important to understand whether creative industries, and in particular the film industry, are inclined to cluster and, if so, what the spatial dynamics, conditions and factors behind this clustering are. Hence it is important to understand the characteristics of these creative places and the necessary planning and design interventions required to develop or support the sustainability of the clusters, whether it is creative industries or clusters of people occupying the same neighbourhood.

A number of factors affect the location decisions of the companies, and also individuals direct the clustering movement. Hence the location and property requirements of these industries have become the subject of ongoing research. There are two approaches concerning the analysis of these industries; the *occupational approach (artist-oriented)* (Currid, 2007; Markusen and Schrock, 2006) and the *industry approach (firm-oriented)* (Klosterman, 2004, 2007; Pratt, 1997; Scott, 2000). This research applies both approaches and investigates the factors driving the companies' and individuals' location decisions.

Another phenomenon is the question of *quality of place* which is mainly introduced by Florida (2002) as an important aspect of attracting the so-called creative capital. Research supports the debate that place plays an important role in the building process of creative cities by ensuring the necessary conditions for a creative city (Drake 2003; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; Smit, 2011; Trip, 2007). Florida (2002) termed *quality of place* to refer to creativity, and outlined the gap in the creative city research indicating the need for further exploration of the characteristics of these creative places. Trip's (2007) research contributed at this point. His study focused on quality of place and outlined the key characteristics in Dutch cities especially at the metropolitan scale. Brown and Mczyski (2009) focused on locational choices of *creative knowledge*

workers, especially in creative and knowledge-intensive sectors, focusing on the metropolitan scale in the UK (Birmingham) and Poland (Poznan). Smit (2011) focused on *district visual quality* at the metropolitan scale in three Dutch cities. However, as these studies have all been carried out at the metropolitan scale, the findings also emphasised the need to research the concept at the neighbourhood scale especially with the local data. On the other hand these research studies focused on various creative and knowledge industries rather than focusing on just one. As the industrial dynamics of each of these creative industries are quite different (Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Montgomery, 1996) this research focuses on only one; in this case, the film industry clustered in specific parts of inner cities.

Apart from this creativity debate and the gaps in the research, the quality of place is also the focus of urban design literature investigating the phenomenon as several different conceptualisations such as *good city form* (Lynch, 1981), *successful cultural quarters* (Montgomery, 2003), *urban quality* (Chapman and Larkham, 1999) and *design quality* (Carmona et al., 2001, 2002). The debates, which can be termed as the urban design cannon, especially in the place-making tradition of urban design are critically reviewed by Carmona et al. (2003) and Carmona and Tiesdell (2007), although they are not linked with creativity which this research aims to explore. It is important to understand how these traditional place-making principles, objectives and theories of urban design are relevant for creativity research, analysing the relevant objectives and performance criteria for quality of place. As far as understanding the essential characteristics of creative urban places is concerned, it is also important to question the place-making process by investigating the role of urban design and planning, as *process* is mentioned as an important element of the success of urban places (Madanipour, 1997). As well as the role of place, understanding the role of urban design and planning to support the creative clusters gains importance in the debate.

On the other hand, studies questioning the value of place especially in the new economy of the information age, Castells' (1989) *spaces of flow*, Webber's (1964) *non-place public realm*, Relph's (1976) *placelessness* and other debates in the economics discipline favouring the *weightless economy* (as cited in Pratt, 2000) and *spaceless economy* (as cited in Hall, 1996) highlighted the need to investigate to what extent

place and location matter, especially for creative industries which are heavily based on new media and technology.

These different studies, with their multidisciplinary background, highlighted the need for place-based empirical research especially at the neighbourhood scale. Although there has been much written on the relationships between place and the creative industries, there is limited empirical research to date that aims to understand the spatial conditions of the creative clusters, particularly at various local scales, and which focuses on how urban place plays a role in the new economy in attracting and retaining creative activities and types. Therefore a current challenge in the field of the creative city debate is to have an insight of whether, how and why the place-based characteristics influence the clustering process (i.e. the location decision of creative industries and individuals). On the other hand, as these important aspects have not been explored in urban design literature, creative clusters and their relation to the morphology of cities also need to be understood. In this context, this research focuses on creative cities, creative industries (in particular the film industry), creative clusters, quality of place, and the place-making processes that support creative clusters. The outline of the discussion and the main structure of the empirical research are outlined in Figure 1.2.

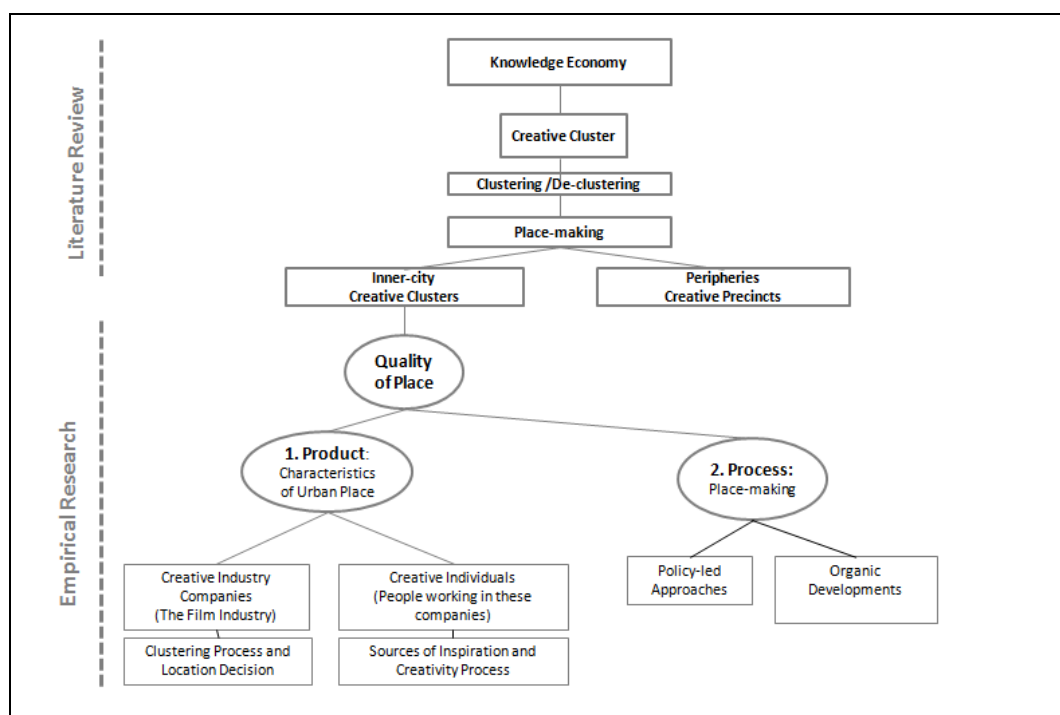


Figure 1.2 Discussion Flow Diagram and Structure of the Empirical Research

1.2 AIM OF THE RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research aims to explore the factors relating to the formation of creative and their relationship with the quality of place, and the place-making processes. The research has three research questions as posed below:

1. *Clustering and Importance of Location*: Why do businesses and people involved in creative activities (i.e. film companies and film people) cluster in specific parts of cities?
2. *Product: Clustering and Characteristics of Urban Place*: To what extent do characteristics of urban place play a role in supporting the clustering of film companies and film people?
3. *Process: Clustering and Place-making Process*: To what extent do place-making initiatives support the emergence, growth and sustainability of these clusters? What is the role of urban design in supporting the clusters and achieving the quality of place?

The first question aims to explore the factors on clustering focusing on the role of geographical location and place. It aims to understand to what extent place and location matter, particularly in (the age of technology), in the creative economy in relation to the theories of *non-place public realm*, *death of distance*, *placelessness*, and the *virtual spaces* introduced earlier.

The second question explores the spatial conditions that foster the clustering process in order to understand the locational and property requirements of these creative industries and people. The aim is to explore the relationship between quality of place and clustering and to understand which of the physical characteristics of urban place provide the best possible environment for clustering to happen.

The third question aims to explore the factors related to the urban development processes and how they contribute to clustering; whether formal, institutional policy-led initiatives or the informal, organic factors. The aim is to understand the role of urban design and planning in making these places where clustering occurs. Place-making theories in urban design are questioned to gain an understanding of those most relevant to creative clusters. In addition, the relationship between creative industries and place-making is also explored through an investigation of the role of creative industries as a catalyst for the transformation of urban place and the potential

of urban place as a magnet accommodating these creative industries. In short, spatial conditions of creative clusters and the planning/design processes involved are questioned. The big question here is to what extent urban design and planning contribute to clustering. Do urban interventions help to build a creative city or do these creative clusters evolve simultaneously without any induced strategy? As literature suggests, creative industries are the key drivers for the changing economic structures of the twenty first century, so exploring their spatial requirements gains importance in order to justify the need for urban intervention.

Studies have been carried out since the 1950s on the overall success of urban place, questioning the essential characteristics that increase the performance of these places, and hence contributing to their quality (Carmona et al., 2003). Urban designers like Lynch (1981), Bentley (1985), Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) and Tibbalds (1992) also outlined the characteristics of successful places, and Montgomery (1998) suggested the criteria for analysing the successful cultural quarters. The question here is whether the existing urban design canon is able to answer the spatial conditions and requirements of creative clusters. In this context, this study aims to define the spatiality of creative clusters by applying urban design principles, objectives and theories. The potential of urban design as a positive attempt to shape, change and make better places is important (Carmona et al., 2003). As urban design is defined as contributing to the evolving trends in the development of new urban form (Carmona et al., 2003; Madanipour, 2006), this study aims to contribute to a greater understanding of the quality of place in the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters.

Dear and Wolch (1989) suggested that social relationships can be constituted through space. Extending this debate, one of the leading figures in the study of happiness and creativity, Csikszentmihalyi (1996), claimed that creativity is a process related to the social forms involved. These two arguments may well suggest that creativity can be considered as a form of these social relationships. Hence as one of the traditions of urban design is regarded as 'the social usage tradition' (Carmona et al., 2003) one could justify the underpinnings of this research as it is based on the intangible concept of creativity. In this context as the importance of intangible concepts are acknowledged as shaping the urban spaces such as image (Lynch, 1969), identity,

sense of place and genius loci (Norberg-Schulz, 1980), social interaction (Gehl, 2006; Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980) and so on, this research points out the necessity of focusing on the relationship between creative clusters and the role of urban place and urban design on this.

1.3 RESEARCH SCOPE

Interdisciplinary research: Lack of understanding of the spatiality of creative clusters

As introduced above, and expanded on in Chapter 2, because creative clusters is an interdisciplinary phenomenon, it has proved difficult to limit the research within the boundaries of one discipline only as the subject matter involves various questions related to these numerous disciplines. As there is very little work exploring how urban design plays a role in supporting creative clusters, this research aims to respond to the current challenge to gain an insight into whether, how and why the place-based characteristics influence the clustering process, i.e. the location decision of creative industries and individuals. Hence, based on the framework of the urban design discipline the research suggests a twofold approach towards analysing the so-called quality of place:

1. Product: Characteristics of urban place
2. Process: Place-making process of this place

Inner City/Periphery Dilemma

As further discussed in Chapter 2, the focus of the research is on *gradually evolved inner-city areas* rather than *purpose-built, strategy-driven creative precincts* which are mainly located towards the peripheries of cities. These inner-city areas are the ones where creative industries and certain groups of people (e.g. people working in creative industries) cluster. The research focuses on two inner-city locations in two different countries, the UK and Turkey, accommodating the creative industries and creative people living and working within them. These locations, Soho-London and Beyoglu-Istanbul, are known as the *media centres, film centres, or the cinema centres* of London and Istanbul especially associated with the film industry since the beginning of the

twentieth century. In terms of planning and design strategy, both cases have gradually evolved without any purposeful strategy for cluster development. Hence, one of the aims here is to explore the creative clusters phenomenon in these two contexts as part of the cross-national nature of the research, to attempt to understand how differences in location patterns and place-making initiatives could support or disrupt clustering. The research attempts to generate arguments to understand the potentials and problems of inner-cities accommodating the creative clusters.

In particular, the Film Industry

The scope of the research is restricted to a particular creative industry. Covering all creative industries would be a longer-term research project. It is assumed that each sector's dynamics and characteristics would be different; hence this research focuses only on the film industry, in order to understand its specific sectorial requirements and its relation and contribution to place-making. In addition, the film industry, having many different layers of relationship with urban place, is able to shape the development of cities, provide links with other creative sectors, provide jobs and employment, help in image-building and contribute to the growth of the tourism sector (i.e. Berlin, Cannes, Los Angeles); hence it also merits further study as a sector. In this context, the contribution of the film industry in place-making is one of the foci of this research.

Furthermore there is a lack of theoretical research conceptualising the locations where the film industry clusters or tend to cluster. Some of the inner-city areas associated with art and culture have been theorised in the literature based on the fact that the majority of the creative industries are located in these places, such as the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter, Liverpool Music Quarter, Sheffield Creative Industries Quarter, Vienna Museum Quarter, and others. To date, however, no study has been undertaken of urban place/neighbourhoods which accommodate the film industry companies and people working in related companies. As stated above, the limited studies carried out to date have been at the metropolitan scale, such as Scott's (2002) research on Hollywood media clusters. As suggested by Trip (2007), for a study at neighbourhood level, this research focuses on the inner-city neighbourhoods where the film industry

clusters; which could be named as the *film industry-based inner-city creative clusters*. The scope of the research is explained in Figure 1.3.

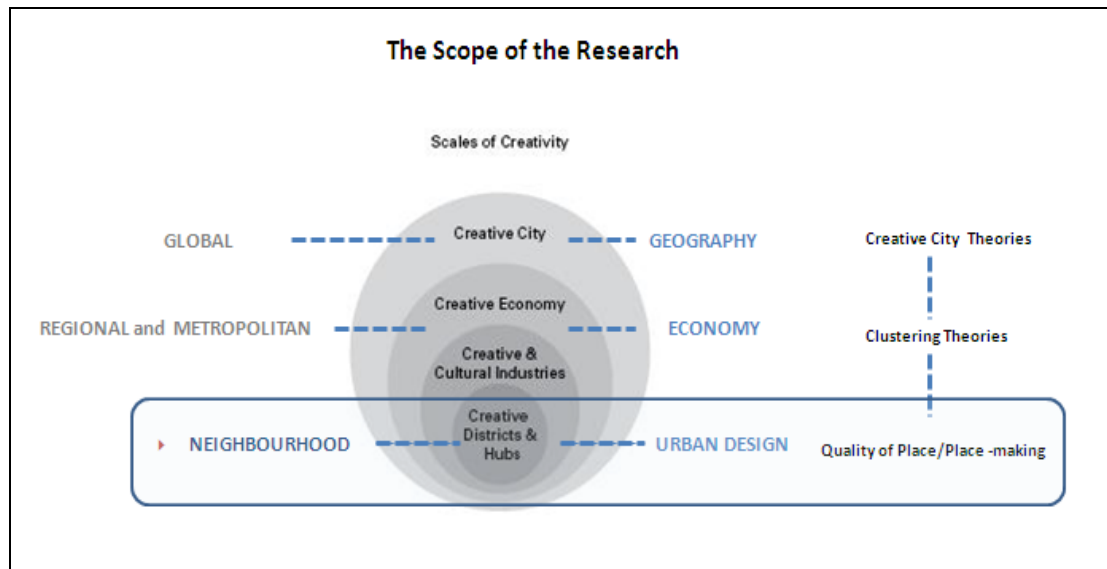


Figure 1.3 The Scope of the Research

This research explores these city-level theories (i.e. the creative city, the creative class, and the cluster theory) and links them with place-making theories in urban design as there has been an increasing recognition in recent years of the need for research that links macro and micro-level dimensions regarding creative clusters (Brown and Meczynski, 2009; Van den Berg et al., 2001; Trip, 2007).

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this section the structure of the research framework and the methodology applied is briefly introduced. The conceptual framework is introduced which outlines the underpinnings of the research together with the theoretical framework, the analytical framework and the operational framework as shown in Figure 1.4.

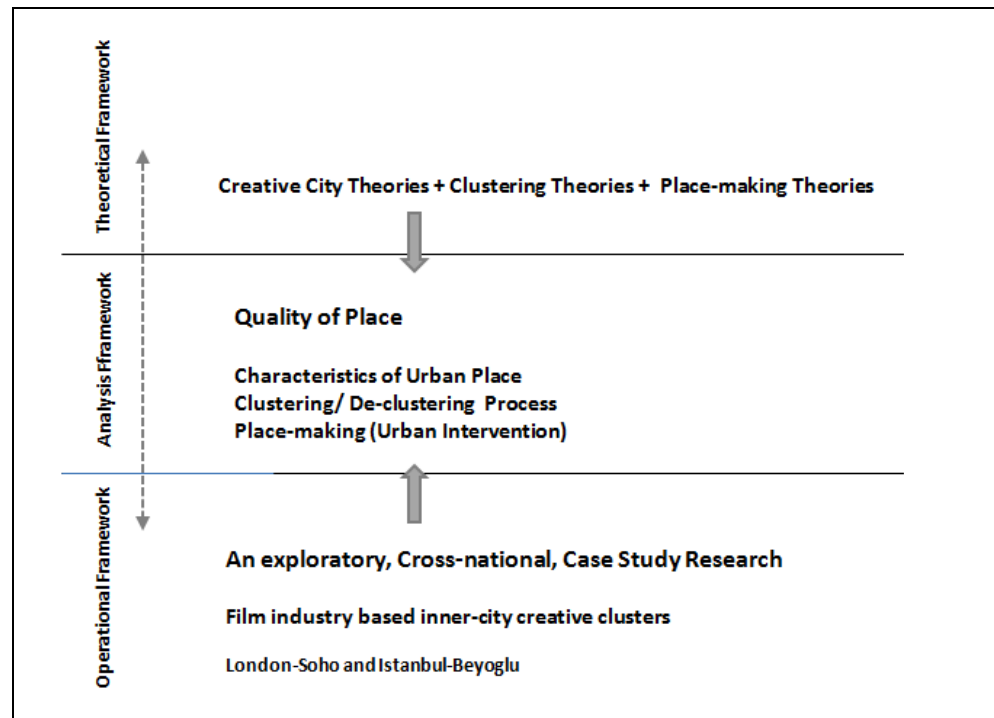


Figure 1.4 Conceptual Framework

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework aims to develop an understanding of creative clusters and its relation to urban place by exploring the theories related to creative city, economics of clustering and place-making theories. The creative city theories and clustering theories in the economics and geography disciplines are linked with the place-making approach in urban design. They are critically reviewed as constituting the background of the research.

Analysis Framework

One of the aims of this research is to develop an analytical framework for the morphological analysis of film industry-based inner-city creative clusters to explore the quality of these places that supports the clustering. In order to achieve this purpose, an initial analytical framework was derived from the urban design literature and is explained in detail in Chapter 3. It is used for the morphological analysis of the cases, and it also informed the data collection and analysis (see Chapter 4). It helped to formulate the various types of interviews and questionnaires, to analyse the data and to present the findings in Chapters 5 and 6. Based on the findings of the case study research, the analysis framework is reviewed again and the relevant factors are shown

as the summary of the findings of this research, as re-presented in Chapter 7 (Table 7.12). The analysis framework, and its relation to the theoretical and operational frameworks, is shown in Figure 1.4 above.

Operational Framework

The operational framework aims to link city-level and neighbourhood-level theories introduced in Chapters 2 and 3 with the case studies. A cross-national case study research is conducted in Soho-London and Beyoglu-Istanbul, which could be classed as two film industry-based - inner-city creative clusters. Location patterns of the film industry, similarities and differences between the clustering patterns and processes, attributes of urban place and the place-making initiatives affecting the clustering process are evaluated and discussed.

Methodology

The methodology of the research is explained in detail in Chapter 4. However, it is useful to summarise the main considerations here. The research is based on the epistemological approach of critical realism and the inductive approach to theory generation. It is a mixed method approach, applying several qualitative research techniques and also a quantitative survey to complement the qualitative part of the research. The study applies a cross-national, case study focusing on London-Soho and Istanbul-Beyoglu where film companies are located and people working in this sector live and work. In addition to these two places, the analysis expands on the places where these film clusters tend to relocate from Soho and Beyoglu (Noho in London and Levent and Maslak in Istanbul). The locations of Istanbul and London indicating the geographical positions of Turkey and the UK are shown in Figure 1.5.

Data collection is based on interviews (semi-structured face to face interviews, telephone interviews and street interviews), questionnaires (online and interviewer-administered ones), observations, and mapping including the spatial cluster mapping of the film clusters and cognitive maps of interviewees. The data are collected sequentially; first the Soho case was investigated then the same phases of the research process were applied to the Beyoglu case. The data analysis process is inspired by grounded theory following the concurrent phases of data collection and analyses. Data

analysis is based on thematic coding of interview transcripts, analysis of the questionnaires based on the themes, and spatial analysis of the maps. The analysis framework introduced above and explained in detail in Chapter 3 also helped formulate the data collection and analysis process (See Chapter 4).

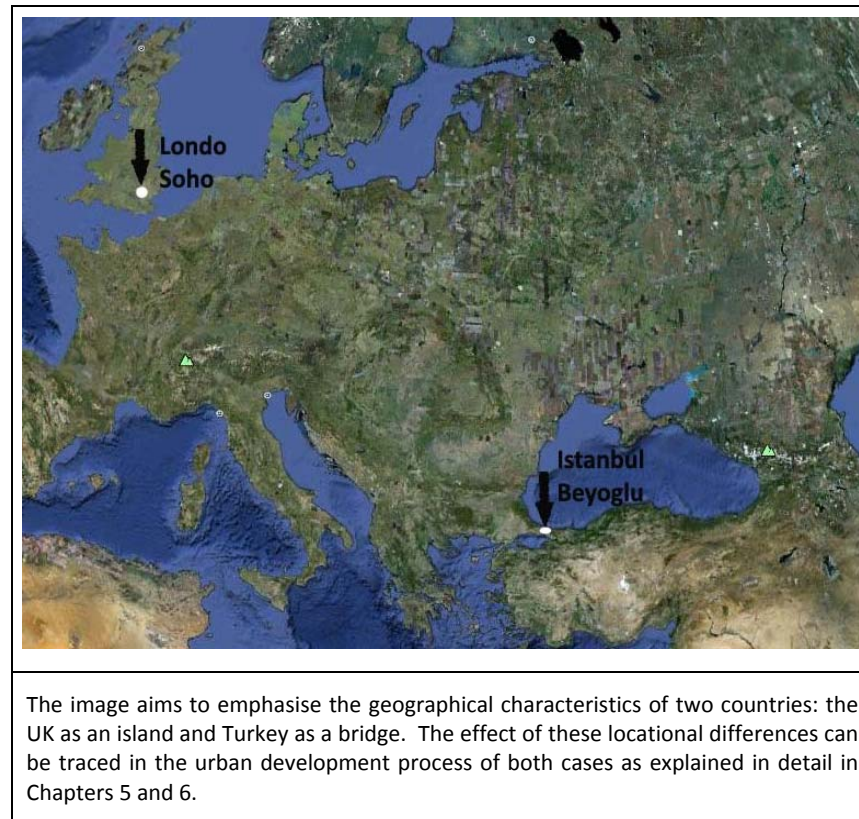


Figure 1.5 Location of the Case Studies: Soho and Beyoglu (Google Earth)

1.5 CONTENT OF THE THESIS

The thesis is structured into eight chapters. Following this introduction, **the second chapter** introduces the main conceptual definitions that formed the theoretical underpinnings of this research. It introduces the terminology used within the research and provides a critical review of the literature on creative cities, creative clusters, creative industries (in particularly the film industry), creative/cultural quarters, quality of place and the place-making initiatives. It concludes with the explanation of how these debates guided the research and the case study design as the justification of the research.

The third chapter focuses on the quality of place concept as introduced in the previous chapter, mainly departing from Florida's (2002) conceptualisation. It aims to link two

main research areas *quality of place* in the creative city debate and *quality and urban place* as discussed in urban design discipline. In the first section it reviews the main theories and the critiques of the concept particularly in the geography and economics literature. In the second section it reviews the relevant debates related to quality and urban place in the urban design, particularly in the place-making thought of urban design. It focuses on urban design literature by reviewing the context and importance of the concept, and also introduces the main principles, definitions and frameworks developed in urban design. It concludes with a tentative analytical framework derived from this literature review; this framework guided the data collection and analysis processes of the case studies. This framework is subsequently modified based on the case study findings and an analysis of the quality of place of the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters is proposed.

The fourth chapter outlines the methodology of the thesis with the philosophical assumptions in terms of the use of theory and knowledge claims and strategies of inquiry, and it also explains the research design with the methods applied for data collection and data analysis. It briefly introduces the cross-national case study approach and explains the design of this research. It concludes with a critical evaluation of the limitations of the methods applied and the shortcomings and strengths of conducting a single-person administered cross-national case study.

The fifth and sixth chapters focus on the case studies in Soho and Beyoglu. Both chapters have the same structure. The chapters start with the evolution of the urban area and the location patterns of the film clusters through mapping the location of the film companies. They begin with the historical review of the urban development processes of Soho and Beyoglu with a particular focus on creativity and art, and exploring how these places have become associated with the film industry. This is followed by a section just focusing on the film industry and its relation to the urban development processes in these two places. In this section, the socio-economic development of the film industry and its current spatial pattern is explained based on the spatial cluster mapping of the film companies. Besides, with the help of city-wide reports and other research projects, other locations of the film industry in London (especially Noho) and Istanbul (especially Levent and Maslak) and their relation to

Beyoglu and Soho are explained. The following sections present the findings gathered from the interviews, questionnaires and cognitive maps of the interviewees, in order to explore the clustering processes and hence to identify/define the quality of place. Data are presented focusing on the clustering process, de-clustering factors and individual creativity processes of the film company workers. The place-making processes are discussed, with particular reference to the interviews held with the key informants who are involved in the planning process or have knowledge of the urban development processes.

The seventh chapter evaluates the findings and compares the two cases where possible, especially based on the three research questions posed earlier. It focuses on the role of location and place, the quality of place and the place-making processes of these places aiming to discuss role of urban design and planning considering the cross-national aspect of the research. It aims to evaluate the differences and similarities in these two contexts affecting the clustering phenomena. The findings highlight the importance of interaction and so does the role of urban place in affecting the location decision of the companies and fostering individual creativity. It discusses the key issues contributing to clustering such as location, centrality, proximity, accessibility, walkability, and permeability especially the role of interactive micro urban public place. Other socio-spatial factors such as cafe culture, community, and image and the role of different place-making initiatives are also evaluated. It suggests a morphological analysis framework for the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters. Based on these findings it proposes a way to map the creativity merging the land use layers and the movement map aiming to illustrate the interaction.

The conclusion chapter evaluates the findings in relation to the research questions and aims, summarises the main findings, and suggests generalisations based on the theoretical and practical implications of the findings. The limitations of the study and the shortcomings of the methods are also critically evaluated based on the cross-national approach of the research. Summarising the findings and deriving lessons for both cases, the concluding chapter explores the significance of the findings and the contribution of the study.

CHAPTER 2 CREATIVITY AND URBAN PLACE

This Chapter introduces the so-called creative city and its relation to urban place and place-making processes. In this Chapter, reflections of the relevant debates on urban place are discussed, focusing in particular on the creative class, creative clusters, creative industries, specific inner-city creative quarters and their urban design and planning processes.

2.1 THE CREATIVE CITY

The ongoing changes in the global economic systems, together with the development of cities, affect the city-wide urban policies. In addition to governments and local authorities, the choices of individuals and their responses to socio-economic dynamics also influence the use of urban place. These issues have been studied in the field of urban studies comprising economy, geography, sociology, urban planning and design. The last decade in particular has experienced the emergence of new areas of research such as *creativity*, *new economy* and *creative city* which offer the potential to direct the future of cities. The debate, over whether the new economy is changing the cities or not has been the subject of research in several disciplines, although not so much from the urban design discipline. Hence it is important to explore the possible answers from a spatial dimension.

2.1.1 THE NEW ECONOMY

Is the new economy transforming urban place?

“Western economies are changing; returns to human capital are rising and many companies are competing harder for the most able people” (Machini and Vignoles, 2001 in Nathan, 2005:3).

Throughout the last two centuries many cities especially in the USA and Europe transformed their economies from an *agricultural-based economy* to an *industrial-based one*, and the last two decades have witnessed the transformation of these

industrial-based economies into *a creative economy* (Florida and Tinagli, 2004). In a creative economy *human capital* is regarded as an engine of economic and social growth, and has gained equivalent importance to *financial capital*. The terms *new economy*, *knowledge-based economy* or *creative economy and knowledge-based urban development* point to the changing economic and social structures of the twenty-first century (Hutton, 2004; Madanipour, 2011; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008b). Scott (2006: 1) suggested that “the new economy is shaped due to the shifts in technology, structures of production, labour markets and dynamics in locational agglomeration”.

Through this shift in the economic structure, social, cultural and spatial forms have also been changed and have influenced the urban development processes. Sassen (2001) indicated that the new economy pushes cities to seek new spatial organisation through urban restructuring. Therefore, adapting current spatial, economic and cultural systems of cities to ease the integration with the new economy is important. In restructuring cities, knowledge, art and creativity play an important role as the key growth resources of the development process (Sharp et al., 2005). Montgomery (2007) suggested that cities that succeed in the new economy will be those that invest heavily in their capacity for creativity and that understand the importance of locality and cultural heritage. Madanipour (2006: 176) emphasised the role of urban design within this major structural change in all aspects of societies: “Urban design contributes to the task of adjusting the city to this structural change, by creating a new spatial organisation and projecting a new image that befits a new society”. In his recent book “Knowledge Economy and the City: Spaces of Knowledge” he explored the knowledge economy phenomenon and its spatial expressions. He suggested that the knowledge-based economy is expected to produce its own space due to the new conditions of economic production. He claimed that knowledge economy is a spatial phenomenon; a historic process overseeing the collection of different trends rather than a sudden event or a single process. In his conceptualisation, he criticised the use of knowledge economy as a static label defining the current economic structure rather he suggested that knowledge economy is an umbrella term comprising different trends and various spatial, socio-economic conditions: “Knowledge economy is a promotional and

inspirational motto rather than an actual description of current conditions” (Madanipour, 2011: 22).

“Knowledge economy is associated with the spread of information and communication technologies, production of intangible products, the growth and development of new knowledge and the concentrated presence of highly skilled workers” (Madanipour, 2011: 23).

This changing economic structure has influenced urban studies research, and growing importance has been ascribed to the relationship with the *new economy* (whether *knowledge or creative economy*) and cities. Madanipour (2011) searched for the expressions of knowledge economy on urban space and identified the new spatial structures such as science and technology parks, cultural/creative districts, office clusters, gentrified neighbourhoods and deprived ghettos.

There have been several new concepts in relation to this shift; such as *creative cities* (Landry, 2000) and *knowledge-based urban development* (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008b) which brings together research in urban development, urban studies and planning with knowledge management and intellectual capital. Social capital and innovation (Jacobs, 1969), information (Castells, 1989), knowledge (Hall, 1998), culture (Bianchini, 1993; Scott, 2000), and creativity (Florida 2002; Landry, 2000) are the concepts that affect the urban development process (Trip, 2007). The focus in the following discussion is on the concept of creativity.

Can creativity be a new planning paradigm for cities?

The new economy raises the issue of creativity and its broader translation of creative cities (Landry, 2000). The creativity discourse and the frameworks to develop creative cities are currently in vogue, although the importance of creativity and its relation to cities is not a new idea. Athens in the fifth century, Florence in the fourteenth, Vienna in the late eighteenth, Paris in the late nineteenth and Berlin in the twentieth century, were the centres of creativity, art and culture (Hall, 2000).

Creativity has given birth to a number of new concepts. *Creative city, creative class, creative capital, creative economy, creative industries and creative milieu* are among these new concepts used by many scholars and urban policy makers. Creativity is defined as “any act, idea, or product that changes an existing domain or that transforms an existing domain into a new one” (Kunzmann, 2004: 385). Creativity and

cities are strongly linked with each other as “a creative milieu is a place – either a cluster of buildings, a part of a city, a city as a whole, or a region – that contains the necessary preconditions in terms of hard and soft infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions” (Landry, 2000: 276). The knowledge-based economy promotes knowledge generation and creativity as the central activities of economic and urban growth mechanisms, and Florida (2002) indicated a strong correlation between creative places and economic growth. In other words, success of cities in the knowledge era depends on how creative they are (Landry, 2000). For that reason creativity has attracted a great deal of attention, and become one of the key concepts for city administrators and scholars who are in search of new ways in urban development to cope with the negative effects of globalisation and new emerging economic structures. In this regard, Kunzmann (2004) saw the recent focus on creativity, culture, creative spatial planning, and creative governance in European cities as the (re)enlightenment project of Europe. Creativity and creative capital theories shift the emphasis from physical structures to individuals. As cultural resources are embodied in people’s creativity, a creative city aims to create the conditions within which “people are able to think, plan, and act creatively” (Landry, 2000). This means providing an enabling environment that facilitates exchange of ideas, and the opportunity to turn these ideas into products, services, and innovative solutions to urban problems. Therefore, it is suggested that creativity should be supported in order for creative capital to be captured and transformed into economic and social wealth for the development of a successful city and its competitive economy (Musterd et al., 2007). Creativity has become a crucial resource in the new economy, as reflected in the use of cultural heritage in the development strategies of the European Union. Creativity is increasingly used by cities and regions as the means of preserving cultural identity and developing socio-economic vibrancy (Ray, 1998).

Creativity and city are linked to form *creative cities*. Landry (2000) first proposed the creative city concept followed by Florida (2002) who emphasised *creative class*. Peck (2005) criticised the conceptualisation of creative cities as a short-cut link between creativity and city. Nonetheless, the concept is the one most acknowledged in discussion of the multidisciplinary phenomenon, in the interdisciplinary domain of the

urban planning, sociology, cultural geography and economics literature. Thus, in the light of all these theories, this research suggests a conceptual framework as presented in Figure 2.1. Based on this, it is possible to argue that *a creative city* is an entity that could be developed through a particular planning/design approach (whether organic or policy-led), with a strong presence of creative industries as the economic source, and through the presence of a creative community that forms the basis and characteristics of the social-cultural setting. The logical connections between these three main building blocks of a creative city with a particular focus on the film industry are conceptualised and illustrated in Figure 2.1. The figure is based on the literature review introduced within this Chapter and also in Chapter 3. In the following parts, related concepts and theories are introduced such as the creative class (Florida, 2002), cluster theory (Porter, 1998), creative industries, and creative industries quarters.

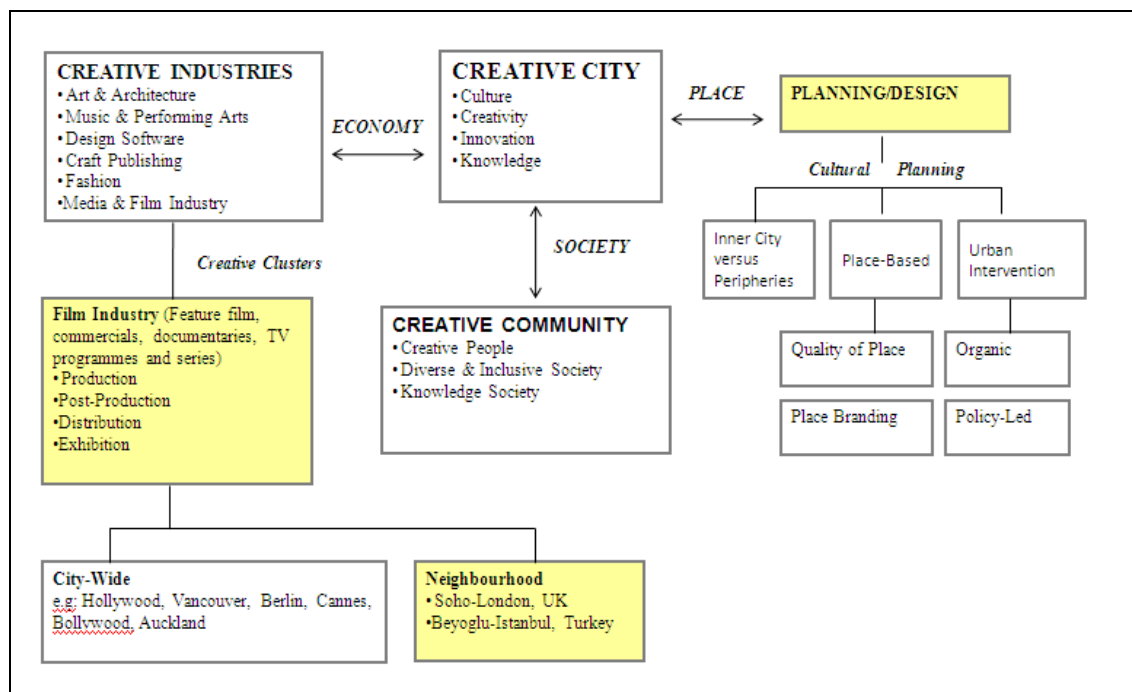


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Depiction of the Focus of this Research

2.1.2 CREATIVE CLASS THEORY

Florida (2002) uses the term, the creative class, to define those professionals working in the sectors whose businesses have creative outputs (e.g. film, music, adverts, books, magazines, buildings, furniture, jewellery, fashion, web-based digital products, etc). The creative group of individuals, creative community or creative class are defined as

the source of *creative capital*, representing an essential asset for cities' economic growth (Florida, 2002). He divided the creative class into two: *the super-creative core* including people working in science and engineering, the creative industries, media, publishing and new media, the design professions, research and development (R&D), ICT and digital content, advanced manufacturing and *creative professionals* in business, finance, the law, advertising and healthcare who provide value adding services for the creative core. In contrast to Florida, Kunzmann (2004) introduced another definition without conceptualising it as *a class*, without focusing on just the individuals but also emphasising the role of creativity. A creative person is defined as "someone whose thoughts or actions changes a domain, or establishes a domain" (Kunzmann, 2004: 385). Florida (2002) also emphasised that creativity is a basic element of human existence and that everybody is creative. However his conceptualisation could be taken as a very commercial, business-led approach, depicting these specific groups of people as the agents of economic prosperity; hence his focus has become more popular in the current theory, research and practice.

In relation to this, Florida also claimed that the creative class is shaping the development of cities as companies are following the creative people when making their location decisions. He remarked that "wherever talent goes, innovation, creativity and economic growth are sure to follow" (Florida 2002: 292). He suggested that talented people are the main driving force of economic growth and also of the new economic systems. The driving force is no longer the traditional economies which are based on "materials, transportation systems, the trade of goods and services of flows of capital but the competition for people" (Florida and Tinagli, 2004) and they are no longer sufficient to guarantee sustainable growth. Instead he suggested that the economic growth turns upon technology, talent and tolerance, the 3Ts which are the key assets of a place/region that attract the creative class. Florida also proposed the creativity index which helps to measure the creativity potential of a city/place as a combination of creative class index, *innovation index*, diversity index, *talent index*, *gay index*, *melting-pot index*, and *bohemian index* which he suggested as the measures of *the quality of a place*, i.e. the characteristics of places that attract talented people.

Critiques and other views

Although Florida's thesis has raised awareness of the importance of creativity, and driven the policies of many cities, his definitions for the creative class, the 3 Ts and the quality of place, as well as his stance that the creative class leads to economic growth, have attracted much criticism in the field (Glaeser, 2005; Hospers and Dalm, 2005; Malanga, 2003; Peck, 2005; Pratt, 2000; Scott, 2006). One such criticism is about the overemphasis on the presence of the creative class where Scott (2006) argued that a specific group of people cannot provide a strong base for long-term economic success. Specific groups such as bohemians and gays are overemphasised in Florida's theories. This has attracted criticism both from the left-wing, by claiming that creative class is an elitist concept, and the right-wing, which criticises Florida for attacking business interests and family values (Peck, 2005). Others (e.g. Glaeser, 2005 and Hospers and Dalm, 2005) argued that Florida's ideas are not novel, that most of them are built on others' work, and that he did not refer to the origins of his works. Hospers and Dalm (2005) indicated that Florida was initially inspired by Jacobs's (1961) *social capital* theory. Landry (2000) also focused on the role of tolerance, diversity and creativity, Adam Smith emphasised the importance of *knowledge-creation* and Alfred Marshall is credited for beginning the discussion of idea-generation in economics, while Brooks (2000) highlighted the rise of bohemianism and social freedom in his book, *Bobos in Paradise*. At that point Glaeser (2005) argued that Florida's contribution is the fact that he put these theories together, and Glaeser (2005: 596) also indicated that "skilled people are the key to urban success and, sure, creativity matters".

Nathan (2005) critically reviewed Florida's three main theses; that there is a creative class who wants to live in tolerant-cool cities and shapes the economy of many cities which includes the fact that quality of place attracts these people and jobs do follow these people. Nathan (2005: 6) stated that "Florida is right in the wrong way (p:6)...What is true, we already knew. What's new is probably not true" (p:7). He argued that creative class theses provide little evidence that "creative cities do better" and he suggested to urban policy makers that "creativity is the icing, not the cake" (2005:1). He added that companies are concerned with skilled people when making

location decisions and also that such people move where the jobs are: “Some jobs may follow people and people follow jobs too” (Nathan, 2005:4).

Markusen (2006) and Landry (2006) criticised approaches that solely consider the creative class, as a city should provide opportunities of creativity for all of its residents, whether artists, scientists or ordinary citizens. In addition to this point, as well as attracting outside talent, cities need to achieve endogenous growth by harnessing the talent of their locals, and thus expanding the creative community. In the creative city it is not only artists and those involved in the creative economy that comprises creativity although they play an important role. Creativity can come from any source including anyone who addresses issues in an inventive way, be it a social worker, a business person, a scientist or a public servant.

The current debate on the creative cities uses a range of terms to define the creative class. These definitions differ according to the nature of the work concerned; whether this includes only not-for-profit activities such as arts or commercial activities as well, such as architectural design, media and so on. In the classic location theory literature there are two perspectives; the first is the *firm-oriented approach (industry approach)* (Pratt, 1997; Scott, 2000) which explains regional clusters of creative firms based on the path-dependent urban production systems; and the second is the *artist-oriented approach (occupational approach)* (Currid, 2007; Markusen and Schrock 2006). The second perspective puts more emphasis on the role of quality of place. Markusen et al. (2008:25) introduced another approach where they define creative workers as “those employed in creative industries focusing on what they make; and those belonging to creative occupations focusing on what they do based on the creative skill content and work process”. Brown and Meczynski (2009) used a different terminology- *creative knowledge workers*- and Smit (2011) defined this group as *creative entrepreneurs* who are not just only artists but have business involvements.

Considering all these approaches this research prefers to use the term *creative people* when referring to those who are working in the creative industries, and who are also working freelance and involved in artistic production. Particularly in the context of this

research, as it is based just on the film industry, “film people” terminology will be used to refer to those who are working in the film companies or related sectors.

Departing from Florida’s (2002) and Landry’s (2000) conceptualisations and regardless of the debate over whether creativity, talent, technology and tolerance contribute to the economic growth, this study focuses on the spatiality of clustering, its dynamics, characteristics and processes of the urban place in attracting, cultivating and mobilising the creative assets of people and companies. In that context, the clustering of these creative types and activities in certain locations of cities can be named as creative places. Considering all these approaches, Florida’s attempt to generate new ideas is worthy of note. The potential of this approach lies in the fact that it could direct much research and also generate new questions. This should even be acknowledged as a positive input for related research. However his stardom and profit-based approach should always remain open to debate.

The debates introduced above are also related to the concept of clustering; clustering of similar types of activities, sectors, companies and people in certain locations, e.g. regions, cities, districts, quarters, precincts, hubs, cells, and so on. The debates are also related to the clustering of creative people and the companies operating in the creative sectors or industries which are also generally termed creative industries, and the locations where they are clustered, which are termed creative industries’ quarters. In the following sections the creative industries and creative industries’ quarters, as well as Porter’s (1998) cluster theory as the economic explanation for clustering, are introduced. A specific creative industry (the film industry) and its spatial expressions are then discussed

2.1.3 CULTURAL AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

2.1.3.1 CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS

The origins of the *creative industry* terminology date back to the 1940s, and are not as new as the creative class debate. The term *The Culture Industry* was first introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer in their book, *The Culture Industry*, first published in 1947. They coined the term in their critique of the commercial production of mass culture.

The book comprises various critiques of commercialised art, as art is not independent from the socio-economic and political conjuncture and as it is produced and consumed within the rules of the capitalist system. Their terminology (The Culture Industry) refers to art as a product of a capitalist system which cannot be defined as an independent *work of art* (Adorno, 2001). The post-war era in Germany and Hitler's fascist propaganda influenced their work, the majority of which was produced in the 1940s when they moved to America due to the political suppression in Nazi Germany. By the late 1960s, culture industry and business were becoming more intertwined than ever as transnational corporations invested in film, television and record companies, and these forms took on ever greater social and political significance (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). These changes influenced many left-wing students, intellectuals (especially French sociologists), activists and policy makers, and the singular term *The Culture Industry* was converted to the term *cultural industries* referring to the complex and diverse logics behind each different cultural production. Since then, the term has become the object of many academic studies in philosophy and sociology, attracting both resistance to, and support of, the idea and the terminology. It was not until the 1980s, however, that the term was first adopted by government institutions. The Greater London Council (GLC) used the term cultural industries to define the whole range of cultural products and services which people consume (TV, film, music, books, concerts and so on) (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005). Paradoxically the term is used in just the way that Adorno (2001) critiqued. Adorno stressed the contradiction of art, culture and economic activities whereas the term cultural industries tied art and culture and economic processes together in this new conceptualisation. The culture, as Adorno defined, has already been subsumed by capital and by an abstract system of *instrumental reason* (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). However, the academic realm focused on the distinction between non-commercial art and commercially-oriented cultural production. In the 1990s, in general, the term cultural industries is used as shorthand to define various sectors with art-related outputs, such as film, television, photography, music, fashion, ceramics, furniture, publishing and so on (Montgomery, 1990). There have been different approaches to cultural industries since the 1970s. Hesmondhalgh (2007) summarised these approaches as *media and cultural*

economics, liberal-pluralist communication studies, political economy approaches, sociology of culture and organisational and management studies, radical media sociology/media studies, cultural studies approaches. The diverse views within these debates, approaches and conceptual confusions have, to date, not been clarified; as Hesmondhalgh (2007: 17) argued, the concept itself, *cultural industries*, is “complex, ambivalent and contested”, and needs further elucidation. However instead of a clarification, another concept, *the creative industries*, emerged particularly at the end of the 1990s. In the following part, this concept is reviewed.

Creative Industries

Cultural industries led to the *creative industries* concept when the Creative Industry Task Force (CITF) of the British Government’s Department of Culture, Media and Sport introduced the concept in the influential Creative Industries Mapping Document. These definitions distinguish cultural industries as artist-centred and creative industries as having a focus on “technological reproduction and mass accessibility”. Creative industries are defined as “activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 1998) These are taken to include the following 13 key sectors: *advertising, antiques, architecture, crafts, design, fashion, film, leisure, music, performing arts, publishing, software, TV and radio* (DCMS, 1998).

In the 2000s, academic debate took another direction with Florida’s introduction of the *creative class* thesis in 2002. Florida’s definition includes all industries that produce creative and innovative goods and services that have high research and development (R&D) and those industries that employ a large number of scientists and engineers. Besides, Florida’s definition does not only include creative industries but also knowledge-intensive industries such as high technology sectors, biotechnology and financial services (Florida, 2002).

Research Focus: Creative Industries

All these different conceptualisations have overlapping definitions; as Drake (2003) claimed, there is again no widely accepted agreement on where the boundary lies

between cultural and creative industries. It is outside the scope of this research to attempt to define these boundaries. Hence, as the focus of this study is not concerned with reviewing these concepts in depth, the study uses creative industries terminology because it refers to today's changing economic conjuncture, while also remaining aware of the problems of the industrialisation of culture, but abandoning the pessimism that Adorno's *The Culture Industry* has.

Characteristics of Creative Industries

Roodhouse (2006: 20) defined creative industries as "the wider definition of culture to encourage cohesion, access, participation and ownership". The characteristics of these industries vary for each sector. There might be big companies which operate on their own and usually have other globally networked branches in other companies. There are also small and medium-sized companies which are independently owned but have collaborative competition (joint-working; subcontracting, shared R&D, building up of industrial networks and business linkages) with each other and larger firms (Montgomery, 1990). Montgomery (1996: 163) suggested that they are closely related and integrated with each other hence it is becoming more difficult to delineate where one sub-sector ends and another begins: "They are volatile by nature and they are usually in an unprecedented state of flux".

Socio-economic and Cultural Contribution

Along with the new knowledge-based economy, creative industries are of increasing importance to urban planners, policy makers, and developers as significant tools of economic and spatial growth (Baum et al., 2008; Hartley, 2005; Landry, 2000). It is possible to discuss the contribution of creative industries both from the perspectives of the socio-economic and cultural benefits they offer, and also their contribution to place-making.

Creative industries offer the potential to meet the requirements of wider inclusion and diversity, and to contribute to the development of nations and cities (Hall, 2000; Jensen, 2005). Kunzmann (2004) supported this understanding by providing statistical

evidence for the UK's particular growth experience in the creative industries of the economy during the last decade. Creative industries contribute to the UK economy in terms of earnings, turnover, and downstream multiplier effects, and in helping to attract tourist spending (Montgomery, 1990; Oxford Economics, 2010). These industries, which many public and private institutions invest in, have recently helped diversify the economic base of de-industrialising or highly specialised cities and regions (Montgomery, 1996; Pratt, 1997). People working in the creative industries with high rates of self-employment earn income from directly exporting products and services and improve the productivity of non-cultural industries locally (Markusen and Schrock, 2006) and the presence of cultural offerings and artists attracts other firms and high human capital residents (Florida, 2002).

Creative Industries combine cultural expression, communication technologies and creativity with material production, tradable goods and services and also market-based consumption. They are high-tech, require a high skills-base and generate huge turnovers; they create and sustain popular icons, require hardware (equipment, technology, and studios) and software (creative people, image makers, ideas and sounds), performance, theatre, visual arts, installation, dance, live music and so on (Montgomery, 1996). As well as being *high-tech*, Montgomery characterised them as *high-touch* which emphasises the high dependence on human sources.

However, Oakley (2004) suggested that the role of creative industries in economic development is exaggerated and can result in economic inequality, gentrification, and destabilisation of the local economy. According to Hall (2000: 642), although creative industries foster the creativity potential of cities, "having creative industries is not at all the same thing as being creative".

Contribution to Place-making

It is important to explore the casual relationship between place-making and creative industries. It is double sided; creative industries contribute to place-making and also they require certain characteristics of a place to flourish in. Landry (2000) discussed that creative industries create positive images for cities, help with social cohesion, attract talent and industry and businesses, and also contribute to the liveability and

quality of life and place. Pratt (2008) stated that creative industries link production, consumption, and manufacturing industries in cities, while Richards and Wilson (2007) promoted sustainable urban development and sustainable tourism. Creative industries provide various tools for being distinctive, and create competitive advantage in the globalising world where every place begins to look similar (Landry, 2000; Turok, 2004). Kunzmann (2004) emphasised the importance of creative industries as the engines of future economic development. In parts of Europe (i.e. Germany and Britain) creative industries are growing faster than other traditional and ICT-related industries. In particular, Helsinki, Malmo, Copenhagen, and Barcelona are focusing on creative industries, and developing projects to transform large derelict industrial areas into creativity-based universities, fine art and performing schools, knowledge precincts, and urban technology parks (Kunzmann, 2004; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008a). Similar policies are also being implemented in some of the capital cities in North America and Australia (i.e. Austin, Boston, Vancouver, Adelaide, Brisbane and Darwin). Urban planners and policy makers are now developing and implementing policies to foster and promote creative industries and cultural activity in cities. London Development Agency (2006:2) stated that:

“In global cities like New York, Berlin, and Barcelona, and in smaller centres like Austin and Newcastle, the development of the creative economy has become a strategic priority, not only for generating wealth, but also for employment opportunity”.

London Development Agency (2006) also indicated the importance of creative industries for place quality, innovative thinking, and formation of urban identity. Bianchini (1993) claimed that arts and cultural investments help to revitalise neighbourhoods or districts.

One of the strategies suggested to foster the creative industries is addressing the *creative environments* (Landry, 2000) or the *ecosystem characteristics of the creative economy* (Florida and Tinagli, 2004) through urban revitalisation and boosting the image of the city as these industries thrive in and around urban centres; by contacting other people, they generate ideas and make deals. Besides, it is also important to involve the mix of product, business, market and talented people. Montgomery (1996: 168) pointed out that “the places which will do best will be those places which are the most interesting and stimulating to be in”. Hence it becomes important to explore the

spatial requirements of creative industries, and the characteristics of places where they tend to locate or cluster which are named creative industry quarters, as introduced below.

2.2 CREATIVE INDUSTRIES QUARTERS

After reviewing the creative city debate and its relationship with creative class and creative industries, it is important to overview the approaches towards the specific inner-city quarters where these industries and creative people tend to cluster.

2.2.1 CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION: CULTURAL OR CREATIVE INDUSTRIES QUARTERS

As discussed within the previous section, as well as the conceptual confusion between The Culture Industry, cultural industries and creative industries, there are also debates in terms of conceptualising these specific inner-city quarters where creative industries and creative types tend to cluster. There are many different terminologies used to define these places mainly associated with art, history and community such as; *urban villages*, *historic districts*, *urban neighbourhoods*, *cultural neighbourhoods*, *cultural quarters*, *cultural hubs*, *creative industries quarters*, *creative precincts* and also *millennium villages*. Sometimes these urban places are the city centres, sometimes it is the historic quarter or sometimes it is the socio-cultural entertainment centre of the cities, or the neighbourhoods where specific groups of people live and work, or where specific economic and commercial activities agglomerate. They can be the districts which have rich cultural heritage or in a way historically important assets. Chtcheglov (1953: 1) introduced another perspective to these definitions with his controversial essay written in 1953 beginning with, “Sir, I am from the other country; we are bored in the city”. He argues that the districts of the city should correspond to the diverse feelings that one encounters by chance in everyday life. He suggests that cities should have a *Bizarre Quarter*, a *Happy Quarter* (specially reserved for habitation), a *Noble and Tragic Quarter* (for good children), a *Historical Quarter* (museums, schools), a *Useful Quarter* (hospital, tool shops), a *Sinister Quarter*, etc.

These different concepts also lead to conceptual confusions. It is important to stress the problems of the language as Franklin and Tait (2002) suggested. They posited that different images are constructed through different frameworks, concepts and stories. The truth and the meaning of the concepts are also socially constructed and therefore there might be also different meanings ascribed to the same object. The danger of using an irrelevant concept might lead the discussion in the wrong way (Franklin and Tait, 2002). Hence it is useful to briefly review these different conceptualisations in order to understand the topic in a wider context.

British-American Arts Association and a private urban research company, Comedia, proposed the concept *cultural quarters* in 1987. Later on Montgomery (2003) analysed the characteristics of these cultural quarters and conceptualised them, discussing the necessary conditions and success factors. Montgomery claimed that originally the concept is not a new terminology; what is new about it is the fact that these concepts have been adopted as policy mechanisms for urban regeneration with the rise of culturally-led urban development in the 1980s. A cultural district is defined as “a well-recognized, labelled, mixed-use area of a city in which a high concentration of cultural facilities serves as the anchor of attraction” (Frost-Kumpf 1998: 10 in Markusen and Gadwa, 2010). The cultural quarter terminology has its origins in the *urban village* concept which is generally credited to Herbert Gans who coined the term in 1962 (Franklin and Tait, 2002). Murray (2004: 191) suggested six key characteristics of urban villages: “be small, neighbourhood size; combine residential with work, retail and leisure units, aim to be self-sustaining; mix different social economic groups; have efficient transport and be well designed and be well managed.” The size of these villages should be small enough to know the neighbours, yet large enough to support a range of facilities/business. The population should not be more than 5000 people. However, Murray (2004) discussed that there are some misconceptions about the urban village concept. He criticised the notion of *villages in the city* as the concept of a *British Psych*. Villages are very important in the UK as people moved to cities from rural areas in the industrial age. Murray (2004) discussed that this village concept still retains rural origins. Those who moved to the cities took the attitudes, values and customs of the village with them. There is a contradiction between village life and

urban life as these two cannot exist in the same territory: “we perhaps have the mind of a village in the body of a city - maybe that is the source of the problem” (Murray, 2004: 198). Franklin and Tait (2002) also argued that there are problems about the usage of the terminology by other disciplines. Originally derived from urban sociology, the concept was later adopted by urban planning and design. *Urban village* is a social construct used in sociology and a physical construct as used in urban planning discourse. Rather than being a fixed concept, it is instead “fluid, contested, contradictory and capable of multiple interpretations” (Franklin and Tait, 2002: 267). Franklin and Tait (2002) pointed out the danger of using the concept as a process of reconstruction and redefinition to create a place that may or may not be an urban village. The meaning and its reflections may change depending on who is representing, packaging and manipulating the image. However another new concept has emerged at the beginning of the twenty first century, the *millennium village* (Franklin and Tait, 2002).

Tiesdell et al. (1996: 10-11) define *urban quarters* using urban parameters such as “having certain physical boundaries, particular identity and character and functional and economic linkage”. The boundaries of a quarter can be a river, a busy road or an administrative convenience. They advocate that these clear-cut boundaries enhance the identity and enable it to be promoted collectively. As defined by Lynch (1960) the identity of a quarter is also very important, making it a specific urban space within the city. Tiesdell et al. (1996) also emphasised the importance of the concentration of the *closely-related-activities* that depend on one another economically. The authors do not define this as creative industries or clusters but the explanation of this functional and economic linkage also overlaps with the current creative clusters/industries debate. The authors also stressed the importance of these quarters as they are an essential part of the city’s charm, enhancing the image and identity of the cities. Their quality becomes symbolic of a contemporary re-enchantment with cities and urbanity.

Bianchini and Ghilardi (2004) conceptualised the term as *quarters* or *neighbourhoods*. Many cities have quarters or neighbourhoods that confer on them a sense of place and identity through the historic and cultural associations they provide. Such places are

usually the product of the many, mostly organic, transformations undergone by their cities through time:

“Neighbourhoods are not autonomous functional zones; they have usually a symbiotic relationship with the city, and tend to have cultural substratum that identifies and distinguishes them, a cultural element which can be termed as neighbourhood culture” (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2004:237).

For example, Soho-London also presents a good example in terms of the many different images through the different land use activities it has. Bianchini and Ghilardi (2004: 237) define the neighbourhood culture of Soho-London as “a complex mixture of historical literary and bohemian associations with elements of a ‘red-light district’ reputation plus a visible “gay culture”.

2.2.1.1 CREATIVE INDUSTRIES QUARTER

The transition from cultural quarters to creative industries quarter happened in the last decade especially with the rise of the creativity debate and the growing importance of creative industries. *Creative precincts and creative quarters* have been associated with the concepts of creative city and the new economy (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008a). They are the cultural quarters of the new twenty first century city which is shaped by knowledge and the creative economy. Roodhouse (2006) attempted to define the difference between the conceptualisation of cultural quarters and cultural industries or creative industries quarters:

“The latter is dedicated to cultural business development such as Sheffield Cultural Industries Quarter and the other is an identification of a geographical area in which cultural activity is encouraged to locate, a physically defined focal point for cultural activity e.g. Wolverhampton Cultural Quarter” (Roodhouse, 2006:24).

Evans (2009a) conceptualised cultural quarters and creative industry quarters and clarified the minor differences between these quarters based on the economic, social and cultural rationales as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Rationales for Cultural and Creative Industry Quarters (Evans, 2009a)

Rationales	Cultural Quarter	Creative Industries Quarter
Economic	Local economic development Visitor economy Branding Zoning Culture and regeneration	City-region economic development Knowledge economy Creative tourism Production chain Innovation spillovers
Social	Identity Mono-use Ethnic quarter	Mixed-use and tenure Diversity Urban design quality
Cultural	Historic preservation Conservation, crafts Festivals Cultural City	Creativity Design and architecture Showcasing/trade fairs Creative City

In addition to the comparison summarised in Table 2.1 above, Evans (2009a: 50) suggested a typology to analyse the cultural industry quarters focusing on the organisational structure of them such as “Mono-cultural industry production, Plural-cultural industry production, Cultural production and consumption, Cultural consumption and retail”. In this context both Soho and Beyoglu, as part of the case studies of this research (See Chapter 5 and 6) fall in the intersection of several categories which can be conceptualised as plural-cultural industry, cultural production, and consumption and retail quarters.

Another typology study was proposed by Santagata (2002) suggesting four types of cultural districts based on the functional classification; *Industrial* which are based on goods such as movie, fashion; *institutional cultural districts* which involve many art-related festivals and art institutions; *museum cultural districts* which have several networks of museums and *metropolitan cultural districts* which accommodate theatres, cinemas, art galleries and restaurants. In this context it is difficult to conceptualise Soho and Beyoglu based on this framework as again they share several overlapping layers.

It is important to note that devolving a single typology is a difficult task as these quarters might fall within more than one typology. Although Evans (2009a) suggested the typology, he did not conceptualise these quarters based on his suggestion. It might be a better approach to identify these quarters according to the types of the creative

activities concentrated within them, following Evans (2009a) who gave some examples of cultural quarters and identified them according to type of cluster activity (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Examples of Cultural Quarters (Evans, 2009a)

TYPE OF CLUSTER ACTIVITY	EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL QUARTERS
Designer makers	Hackney, East London; La Defense Cedex- Paris
Multimedia and design	Art and Design City, Arabianranta, Helsinki, The Digital Hub, Dublin
Heritage district/former craft production	Museum quarter, Vienna; Clerkenwell and Spitalfields, City Fringe London; Jewellery Quarter, Birmingham; Lace Market, Nottingham
Fashion	Tricinese Quarter, Milan
Cultural attractions/museum quarters	South Bank, London; Centenary Square, Birmingham
Mixed cultural industries	Westergasfabriek, Amsterdam
Popular music	The Veemarktkwartier, Tilburg
Performing arts	Theatre Quarter, Utrecht
Cultural industries, designer makers, fine artists	Kaapelitehdas, Cable Factory Helsinki
Integrated creative/cultural production districts	CIQ, Sheffield; City Fringe, London; Poblenou @22 MediaCity, Barcelona MediaCity, Salford, UK

Clusters or *closely related-activities* (Tiesdell et al., 1996) of economic, artistic, and socio-cultural functions are one of the key conditions of being a quarter. Hence, these quarters, these specific locations in cities, could be associated with the idea of clustering, whether this relates to businesses, job-types, people, activities, leisure, culture and entertainment. These specific places/locations have several different definitions; however, regardless of the definition, they are the concentration/agglomeration zones/locations of specific businesses, whether creative or not. There are economic theories explaining the reasons of this agglomeration. The following part will focus on the economics of clustering and the related theories in order to explain the economic logic of clustering in these locations.

2.2.2 CLUSTER THEORY: ECONOMICS OF CLUSTERING

Economics of Clustering

Clustering is about the locational/geographical proximity of similar companies operating in interlinked businesses related to commerce and business, which could be named as industrial and commercial clustering. Clusters and related terminologies such as “*industrial districts, new industrial spaces, territorial production complexes, neo-marshallian nodes, regional innovation milieus, network regions and learning regions*” (Martin and Sunley, 2003: 8) have become popular concepts in economics, economic geography, sociology and political science, particularly since the 1990s (Bathelt, 2005).

Cluster Theory (Porter, 1998) is the most influential - and most recent theory – to explain the advantages and the conditions of clustering. Michael Porter, who is an American business economist (1998: 78) defined clustering as; “*a geographic concentration of interconnected companies, specialized suppliers, service providers, associated institutions and firms in related industries*”. The theory aims to explain why firms benefit from geographical proximity and the role location plays in economic prosperity and also competitiveness.

Although it has been popular since the 1990s, the clustering concept is not a new idea; the roots of the theory can be traced back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with their origins in Adam Smith’s theories about *specialisation and competition*, Alfred Marshall’s *industrial districts*, and Alfred Weber’s emphasis on the *spatial organisation of the industry* (Gordon and McCann, 2000; Martin and Sunley, 2003). Alfred Marshall’s (1890/1925) *industrial districts* concept is perhaps the earliest one that explains industrial agglomeration as a “concentration of specialised industries in particular localities” Martin and Sunley (2003:7). In addition, Gordon and McCann (2000) argued that Marshall is also influenced by Adam Smith’s theories of labour *specialisation* and competition leading to economic prosperity, which Smith introduced in his influential book *Wealth of Nations*, first published in 1776 (Martin and Sunley, 2003).

Advantages of clustering

These similar conceptualisations aim to explain the local concentrations and advantages of geographical and spatial proximity. Marshall's theory of agglomeration suggested that economic benefits arise from the geographical proximity and this is mainly related to internal and external economies of scale¹ which is more commonly referred to as 'economics of agglomeration'. According to Marshall, firms locate in the same geographical area due mainly to three reasons. Gordon and McCann (2000: 516) summarised these factors as: "Development of a local pool of specialised labour, the increased local provision of non-traded inputs specific to an industry and the maximum flow of information and ideas". These concentrations occur due to the dynamics of external economies which benefited the advantages of local concentrations (Madanipour, 2011; Martin and Sunley, 2003). Martin and Sunley (2003:7) summarised the triad of external economies: "The ready availability of skilled labour, the growth of supporting and ancillary trades and the specialization of different firms in different stages of branches of production". Madanipour (2011: 145) added that "Economies of scale can explain the formation of clusters: but the shape of clusters may follow different economic calculations".

Another principal factor explaining the advantages of clustering is competitiveness which Adam Smith also suggested as the key factor leading to economic prosperity. Competitiveness is also the underlying theme of Porter's "Neo-Marshallian Cluster Theory" (Nachum and Keeble, 2003b; Martin and Sunley, 2003), which is suggested as the key factor that has made him that much more popular than other geographers in the interdisciplinary array of urban planning, geography, public administration, and economic development (Motoyama, 2008). Porter's cluster theory is an analytical concept; a key policy tool related to "economics of business strategy", and hence attracted much more attention.

In addition, in his work on 'Competitive Advantages of Nations' (1990), Porter started to built up his theory about clustering and its role on international competitiveness in

¹ Internal Economies are related to a firm's production and economic organisation whereas External Economies are the factors related to the clustering of other firms (Madanipour, 2011).

which he argued that “the success of a nation’s export firms depends on a favourable national ‘competitive diamond’ of four sets of factors: Firm strategy, and rivalry; factor input conditions, demand conditions and related and supporting industries” (Porter, 2000:20). Porter applied his competitive diamond theory to the agglomeration idea itself and formed the cluster theory. His emphasis is on *localised clusters*; he suggested that these support innovation, productivity and business growth which are crucial in competitiveness, as explained in Figure 2.2.

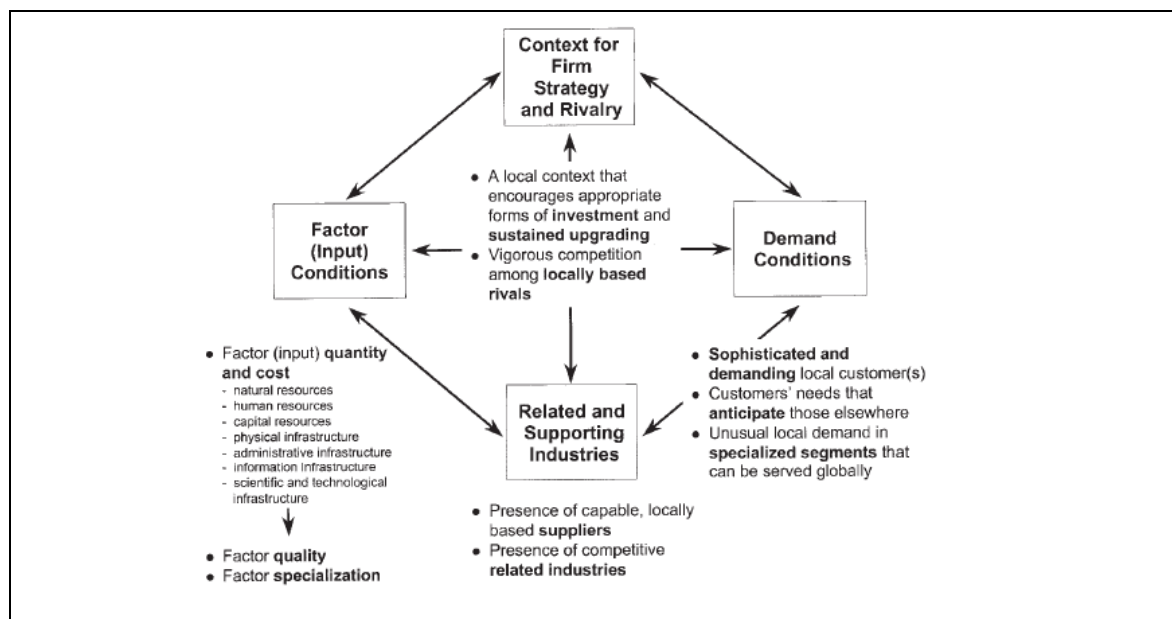


Figure 2.2 Competitive Diamond: Sources of Locational Competitive Advantage (Porter, 2000)

Another factor explaining the underpinnings of clustering is the competitive advantage gained through the localised clusters which highlights the importance of location (Porter, 1998). Porter stated that being localised/being located makes a difference; despite the fact that all business activities can be carried out from a distance due to the advances in technology and globalisation. In spite of the views of globalisation reducing the importance of location, Porter’s Cluster Theory enhanced the importance of location, explaining why it still matters especially in the last decades, in the age of technology. He emphasised that if technology is available to everyone then it is no longer a competitive source:

“Globalisation and the ease of transportation and communication have led to a surge of outsourcing in which companies have relocated many facilities to low-cost locations. However, these same forces have created the location paradox. Anything that can be efficiently sourced from a distance has essentially been nullified as a competitive advantage in advanced economies. Information and relationships that can be accessed and maintained through fax or e-mail are available to anyone.

Although global sourcing mitigates disadvantages, it does not create advantages. Moreover, distant sourcing normally is a second-best solution compared to accessing a competitive local cluster in terms of productivity and innovation. Paradoxically, the most enduring competitive advantages in a global economy seem to be local” (Porter, 2000: 32).

Clustering Processes and Typologies

After explaining the economic advantages of clustering, it is necessary to examine the processes, spatiality and typologies of clusters. There are questions of scale, distance, forms and types of these clusters that require explanation as clusters are usually considered a problematic concept. In Porter’s conceptualisation, he mentioned geographical proximity; however the scales and types of this proximity are not spatially defined. So if geographical proximity is important in the formation, performance and identification of a cluster, what is the best scale of this spatial agglomeration? To what extent is distance important?

In addition, there are some issues regarding the processes of cluster development and the role of public policy intervention. It is also important to understand why some sectors tend to cluster; why some clusters continue to grow and reproduce themselves while others stagnate and disappear over time. To what extent do economic and socio-spatial factors support clustering in certain locations? Gordon and McCann (2000), Van den Berg et al. (2001) Martin and Sunley (2003), Bathelt (2005) and Bilien and Maier (2008) emphasised these conceptual confusions and lack of theoretical and empirical explanations. Bathelt (2005: 205) argued that “a multidimensional perspective is needed to explain the growth and decline of clusters and the several different factors behind such as institutional, culture, power and external relations”.

Allen Scott (1988:11) argued that these three sectors in particular are inclined to cluster. The new economic system of ‘flexible accumulation’ (Scott, 1998) brought with it a new spatial pattern, which resulted in agglomeration of certain types of industries such as “revived artisanal and design-intensive industries producing articles; high technology industries and service functions”.

Several studies have also attempted to develop a clustering typology. Rosenfeld (1997) developed a typology of the types of clusters based on their formation processes, such as “working or overachieving, latent or underachieving and potential clusters”. However, Martin and Sunley (2003) criticised this typology indicating that the last two

groups in particular might overlap as latent clusters also could be defined as potential clusters.

Evans (2009a: 48) also suggested four levels of development based on the different levels of policy intervention; “dependent, aspirational, emergent and mature clusters”. Dependent clusters are developed with direct public sector intervention such as Sheffield Creative Industries Quarter; the aspirational clusters are initiated by privatised former public sector cultural enterprises such as The Digital Hub-Media Lab, Dublin; whereas emergent ones are initiated by creative enterprises but receive infrastructural investment from the public sector. The Glasgow Film City, which is introduced in the following Section 2.2.3.1, is a good example of an emergent-type cluster development. Lastly, the mature clusters are completely led by established large-scale creative enterprises as in the case of Los Angeles-Hollywood motion picture clusters (See Section 2.2.3.1).

Perhaps Gordon and MacCann’s (2000) conceptualisation is the most acknowledged (Bilien and Maier, 2008) for explaining the basic forms of clustering which they group as the “Pure Agglomeration Model, the Industrial-complex Model and the Social Network Model”. Their conceptualisation does not refer to a particular geographical category but focuses on the composition of firms, nature of their inter-firm relations and the transactions undertaken within the clusters. Bilien and Maier (2008) analysed these models based on firm size, characteristics of inter-firm relations, membership, access to clusters, space outcomes, the analytical/theoretical underpinnings of each model and the notion of space that they are related to such as urban, local or regional. All these typologies and models discussed to this point will be used to compare and evaluate the Soho cluster and Beyoglu clusters (See Chapter 7).

Critiques

Although Cluster Theory has attracted much attention, it has been critiqued particularly in terms of conceptual ambiguity, as it “lacks producing clear definitions towards the scales, spatiality and process of clustering” (Martin and Sunley, 2003: 9, 28). Some researchers agreed that it is “a chaotic and problematic concept forming the

bases of a brand-based cluster policy-making rather than being an intellectual product” (Bathelt, 2005; Martin and Sunley, 2003; Nanchum and Keeble, 2002).

There is also criticism about the spatiality of Porter’s Cluster Theory such as lack of conceptualisations for the spatial scales, densities of economic localisation, the boundaries and scales of clusters, different typologies, the emergence and growth processes and the internal socio-economic dynamics (Martin and Sunley: 10). This lack of definition in Porter’s theory about scale assumes that ‘clustering processes’ are scale-independent: “if the same externalities and networks that typify clusters do indeed operate at a whole variety of spatial scales, this surely weakens the empirical and analytical significance of the cluster concept” (Martin and Sunley, 2003: 12).

Hence, as Martin and Sunley (2003) suggested, it is important to explore the spatial conditions, geographical scales, spatial range or limits, different forms of clusters, and their development processes and typologies based on “...forms, sizes, stages of development, emergence, depth and level of aggregation “(Martin and Sunley, 2003:13).

Van den Berg et al.’s (2001) analysis of clusters also indicated the necessity for an integral approach towards cluster analysis in order to understand factors influencing the growth of clusters. They suggested a framework of analysis consisting of three interrelated elements affecting the performance and dynamics of clusters; “cluster-specific conditions, general-spatial economic situation in the urban regions and the quality of urban management”. Van den Berg et al. (2001) also suggested that the clustering phenomenon has a spatial dimension and they pointed out the need for empirical (comparative) cluster studies in urban regions.

At this point, this research investigates whether the film industry tends to cluster. If so, what are the spatial conditions, scales, and types denoting this type of clustering? In addition, it is also important to analyse the processes of this clustering and the economic, spatial and socio-cultural factors involved. Hence the role of urban design and planning in supporting or forming these clusters needs to be explored. These issues will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, with a focus on the film industry clusters in Soho and Beyoglu. In the following section, the economic and industrial structure of

the film industry and the global examples of locations where the film industry tends to cluster are discussed.

2.2.3 THE FILM INDUSTRY AND CLUSTERING

One of the important sectors of the creative industries is the film and media industries which has many different layers of relations with urban place. The film industry in particular is one of the major creative industries that have various layers of interaction with the place (Shiel and Fitzmaurice, 2001). The film industry is the ongoing subject of interdisciplinary research comprising film and media studies, sociology, geography and economics, film-induced tourism, urban studies and also architecture in terms of the architectural characteristics of spaces in the movies. Furthermore, as well as films shot in the studios, directors also shoot on location and they record and represent the localities and cities in the films, which some suggest has a very positive effect on tourism (film-induced tourism) (Beeton, 2005). Furthermore, the industrial location of the film industry as a cultural/creative industry has been the subject of geographical studies, for example, film clusters in Hollywood (Scott, 2002). Another aspect is the film festivals which promote places that host them, such as Cannes, Berlin and Venice. It could be suggested that the last aspect is the location of cinemas and screening rooms in the cities which are the places where the audiences and films meet.

Comprising various sub-sectors, such as acting, photography, music and video industries, stagecraft, advertisement and television, and video tape distribution, the global film industry contributes significantly to economic vitality (Scott, 2005). The film industry, as well as other media-related industries (broadcasting, film and video production, printing and publishing, live music and sound recording, photography, advertising) also contributes to urban regeneration and urban vitality (Montgomery, 1996). As a significant sector of the creative industries, the film industry is an effective powerhouse of economic growth (Bassett et al., 2002; Gasher, 2002). It promises employment and new economic growth with its direct and also multiplier effects (DVD/CD sales, tourism, logistic, catering, accommodation, cosmetics, textile industry, construction, manufacturing of related equipments, etc).

The global examples demonstrate that the film industry has the potential to shape the development of cities (i.e. Berlin, Cannes, Los Angeles, Bollywood and Auckland) (Ozkan, 2009). The film industry provides diversity in the availability of talented people such as cast and crew, art and set directors, costume designers, photography and cinematography directors, set and construction engineers, production designers, and others (Hayward, 2006). Table 2.3 compares the global national film industries based on the number of feature films produced or co-produced, average budget per film and market shares of the domestic productions.

Table 2.3 Characteristics of National Film Industries (Screen Digest, 2006)

Countries	Feature Films Produced (in 2005)	Feature Films Co-produced (in 2005)	Average Budget Per Film (\$ Million)	Film Production Investment (\$ Million)	Market Share of Domestic Products (%)
India	1041	0	0.1	147	94
USA	699	0	19.9	13945	93
Japan	356	0	5.2	1841	41
France	240	114	6.7	1601	38
Spain	142	53	3.1	433	16
UK	124	87	8.4	1043	34
Germany	103	43	8.2	845	17
Italy	98	30	2.7	267	25
Brazil	90	0	1.2	111	10
Canada	80	0	3	238	5
Denmark	41	20	3.3	134	30
Australia	32	3	3.7	81	3
Hungary	26	9	0.6	14	12
Turkey	25	4	1.8	55	42
Romania	20	11	0.7	14	5
Norway	19	4	1.9	36	14
Finland	13	5	2.1	27	15
Singapore	8	2	0.4	4	3
New Zealand	5	2	57.8	289	0

The film industry is also important in tourism development and for boosting economic development. Riley et al. (1998), Beeton (2005), Croy (2010) and O'Connor (2011) showed evidence that the film industry positively affects a city's reputation by promoting the place through films and festivals creating tangible and intangible resources for *film-induced tourism* (Beeton, 2005); for instance Auckland, the UK, Turkey, Thailand, Scotland and Ireland among others². Films increase place recognition

² Some of the films referred to as influenced the number of the visitors to these locations where these movies were shot: Braveheart (1995), Crocodile Dundee (1986), Angela's Ashes (1999), Harry Potter and the Half Blood Prince

and have a powerful effect on viewers, often dictating their next vacation destinations (Riley et al., 1998).

The film industry comprises several different sectors which are involved in the different stages of film-making, such as pre-production, production, post-production, distribution and also exhibitions, which are defined as the core sectors of the film industry. Hence, as also shown in Figure 2.3, the film industry has a fragmented industrial structure that needs the involvement of different sectors and companies, and which also creates a necessity for agglomeration (Coe and Johns, 2004; Scott, 2005). Each of these stages has direct relationships with urban place as it manifests in different parts of the cities; for example, cafes and pubs, offices, studios, laboratories, cinemas, squares, and plazas.

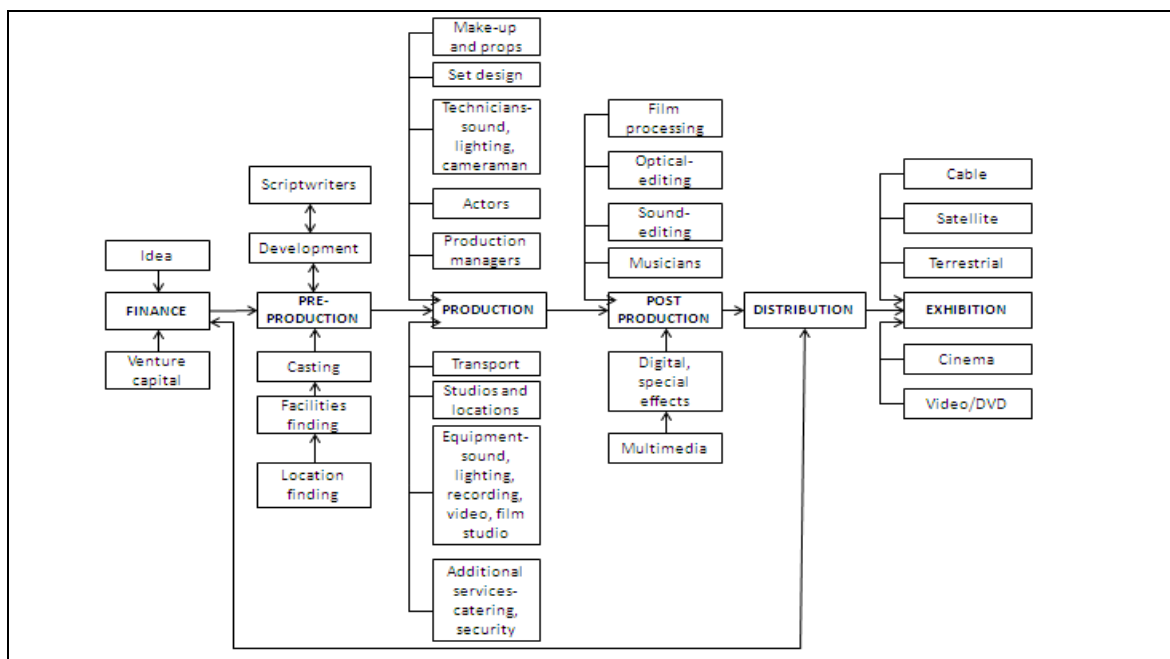


Figure 2.3 A six stage sequence of inputs/activities in the film production system (Coe and Johns, 2004)

At this point in the discussion, mention must be made of the main change that has taken place in the industrial structure of the film industry, in order to understand its changing spatial expressions. Between 1920 and 1950 the film industry was based on a studio system which was dominated by a group of major companies, i.e. Metro-

(2009), *Lord of the Rings Trilogy* (2001-2003), *Love Actually* (2003), *The Beach* (2000), and *Troy* (2004) (O'Connor, 2011).

Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, Warner Bros, Universal, 20th Century Fox and RKO. Scott (2002: 958) defined their industrial organisation which aims to integrate all the phases of the film production, distribution and exhibition in one company: “Each of them was vertically integrated across production, distribution and exhibition producing films in their units as a mass production process”. However, initially, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the industrial-economic structure of the film industry changed. The dominant American studio system also fragmented into several different stages of filmmaking rather than being operated by the big companies. Changes in industrial structure, defined as a shift from *vertical integration* to *horizontal integration*, have also affected the industrial organisation of the film industry, as have the location patterns of the companies (Scott, 2002). The film industry has moved from being an almost *in-house* sector to acquiring a post-fordist economic structure. Scott (1998) also captured this in his definition, *flexible production*, referring to the changes that took place beginning from 1970s. In this way the industry is becoming more and more concentrated and more diverse with smaller independent production companies (Scott, 2002). This change is important in terms of interpreting its relation with urban place. As the industry becomes more fragmented and is based on different but small-scale companies, as it was shown in Figure 2.3 above, this also accelerated the need for clustering (See section 2.2.1.2).

In the following part, the locations of the film industry are searched, with a focus on some of the global regions/locations of where the companies related to filmmaking are concentrated.

2.2.3.1 THE FILM INDUSTRY CLUSTERS

Countries like the USA, the UK, India, France, Spain, Canada, and Germany are the leading nations in hosting major global film industries. At the city scale, Los Angeles (Hollywood), Mumbai (Bollywood), Auckland, Berlin, Cannes, Melbourne, Singapore, Vancouver, and Rome (Cinecitta) are among those cities that purposefully focus on the film industry and make it a significant catalyst for their creative urban economies (Bassett et al., 2002; Croy, 2004; Gasher, 2002).

In some of the cities, the film industry is located close to the city centre and in others on the periphery. For example, Mussolini opened Cinecitta (Film City) in 1937 specifically as a gated film district to use films to fuel Fascist Propaganda (CineCitta, 2009). The studios which are 10 kilometres away from Rome's city centre are now the largest film-making facility in Europe. Cinecitta has all the studio environments, services, and facilities related to film production as well as social facilities for creative people living and working there.

The Los Angeles-Hollywood³ media clusters are a prime example of a regional cluster where the American motion picture industry is agglomerated (Scott, 2002). The majority of the companies are clustered in Southern California; the location of the industry is shown in Figure 2.4. The Hollywood media cluster⁴ is a collection of small independent media firms, comprising a variety of professionals, highly qualified workers, localities of entertainment, and transaction-rich networks of firms. Scott (2005) argued that the emergence of Hollywood clusters was mainly due to climatic and spatial factors. At the beginning of the twentieth century the film industry was based in the Northeast, in New York City. However, decade between 1907 and 1915, the industry started to shift towards the west coast due to "the warm and sunny climate, mild winters, physical attributes and the diversity of landscapes for film shooting in California" (Scott, 2005:13). Since then many other companies have located there, and Hollywood or Southern California became the location of the American film industry. Today the industry has spilled over well beyond this original core, extending into other districts, especially towards Canada. Vancouver took advantage of this decentralisation and lured some of the runaway productions away from Hollywood with tax-credit policies (Scott, 2005).

³ Scott (2002) emphasised that Hollywood in fact was never a geographical term. Instead it is a metaphor for an industry system. Hence, the cluster is not just located in the Hollywood district; the term refers to Southern California.

⁴ It is referred to as the new Hollywood. Old Hollywood is defined for the pre-war times which are based on classical Studio System of production which is vertically integrated. New Hollywood emerged out of the restructuring of the old studios that took place from the 1950s to the 1970s. It is a 1980s phenomenon (Scott, 2002: 958).

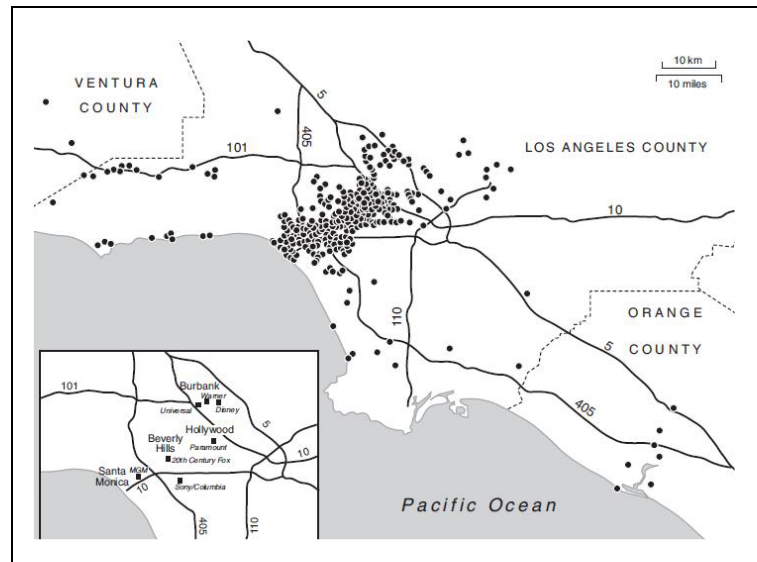


Figure 2.4 Motion Picture Production Companies in Southern California (Scott, 2002)

Soho-London is another example of a film/media cluster district that is home to various sectors of clustered activities related to filmmaking. Film-TV production companies and related service industries are also linked with other creative industries clustered in Soho (Gornostaeva, 2009; Nachum and Keeble, 2003a and 2003b; Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009).

Babelsberg Studios in Berlin, which is also known as Filmpark Babelsberg established over a hundred years ago in Berlin and now is part of Media City Babelsberg, known as one of the oldest film production sites in the world. Filmpark Babelsberg is also a film-related theme park (Filmpark, 2012). Other examples could be Filmbyen in Copenhagen, Denmark and Film City in Glasgow, the UK, which are located outwards towards the peripheries of both cities. Film City Glasgow is part of the Pacific Quay Urban Regeneration Scheme. As well as Govan Town Hall, and Film City, some other media and film-related institutions are based in Glasgow's Digital Media Quarter (Glasgow City Council, 2011).

Film City and Filmbyen are good examples of cluster development initiated by a *creative entrepreneur* (Roodhouse, 2006) (i.e. Birmingham Custard Factory). A Glasgow-based film company took the initiative to develop a film city in Glasgow, in the city centre, converting an old town house into a film studio, and incorporating many film making-related facilities as well as offices (Figure 2.5). The idea also emerged from another film city concept in Copenhagen, Filmbyen, which was

established by another film company based in Copenhagen. The first one, Copenhagen, was set up in 1997 by Lars Von Trier, a very famous Danish film director. Later on, the Scottish company manager, who was inspired by this company during a visit to Filmbyen, decided to establish a similar concept in Glasgow. The company renovated an old Victorian Govan Town Hall in 2007. Now the building accommodates studio spaces, other filmmaking facilities and offices (Film City, 2011; Glasgow Architecture, 2011, Sigma Films, 2011) (Figure 2.5).

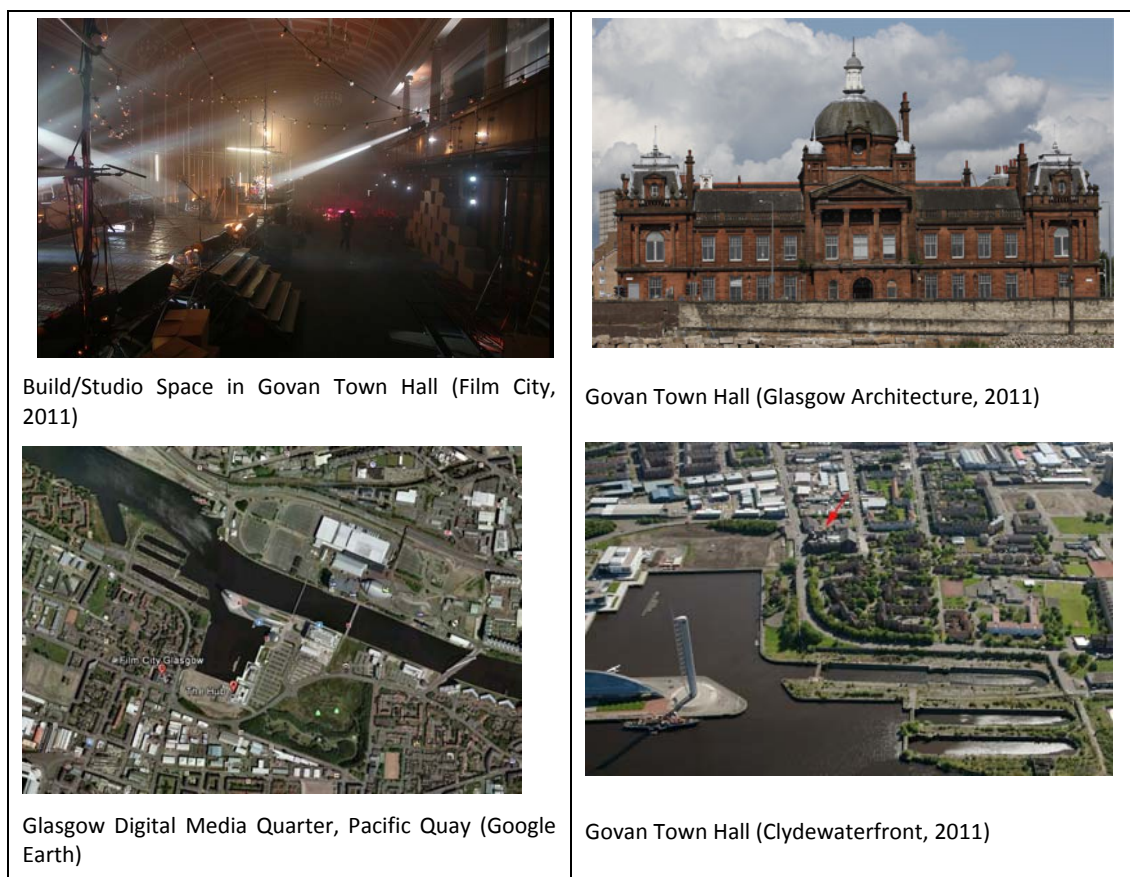


Figure 2.5 Govan Town Hall and Glasgow Digital Media Quarter

Other examples of creative entrepreneur-led initiatives can be found in Beyoglu and Soho, as discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. In Beyoglu a local film company renovated an apartment building in the 1960s to use as offices. They bought the whole building and renovated it, after which other companies moved in. Although some have since moved out, there are still film companies located in the building, and it continues to be owned by the original company, but managed by the sons of the initial founder. Afterwards several other companies moved into the same street and located in nearby office buildings along the same street (i.e. Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street; See Chapter 6).

In the case of Soho, Sohonet, which is a network connecting the companies in the area, is a project run by a Soho-based company. Sohonet contributes to networking of companies in Soho, and with the global companies in Los Angeles, Sydney, Vancouver, and Europe, as well as Bollywood (Sohonet, 2011).

From these global examples and the theoretical background introduced earlier, it is possible to suggest that the film industry tends to cluster based on specific locational and property requirements. It is important to understand these spatial conditions and also the role of spatial design/planning tools in providing these physical settings. The following discussion focuses on how these places are made that attract/accommodate the clustering of creative types and activities.

2.3 URBAN DESIGN/PLANNING: CREATIVITY STRATEGIES

As introduced within the research scope in Figure 2.1, one of the building blocks of creative cities is the place-making process which involves both urban design and planning process of these places. There are several approaches and debates concerning the planning process of these quarters. The first area of debate is the dilemma of whether to regenerate inner-city quarters, or whether to invest in new large-scale developments on the peripheries; the second debate is about the necessary level of policy/design intervention, and the third is whether to invest in quality of place or place-making, or whether to develop place-branding strategies. These approaches summarised in Figure 2.6 can be summarised under the umbrella term of *cultural planning* (Evans, 2001), taking the aspect of culture as a focus of the urban strategies. These dilemmas are summarised in Figure 2.6 and introduced in the following sections.

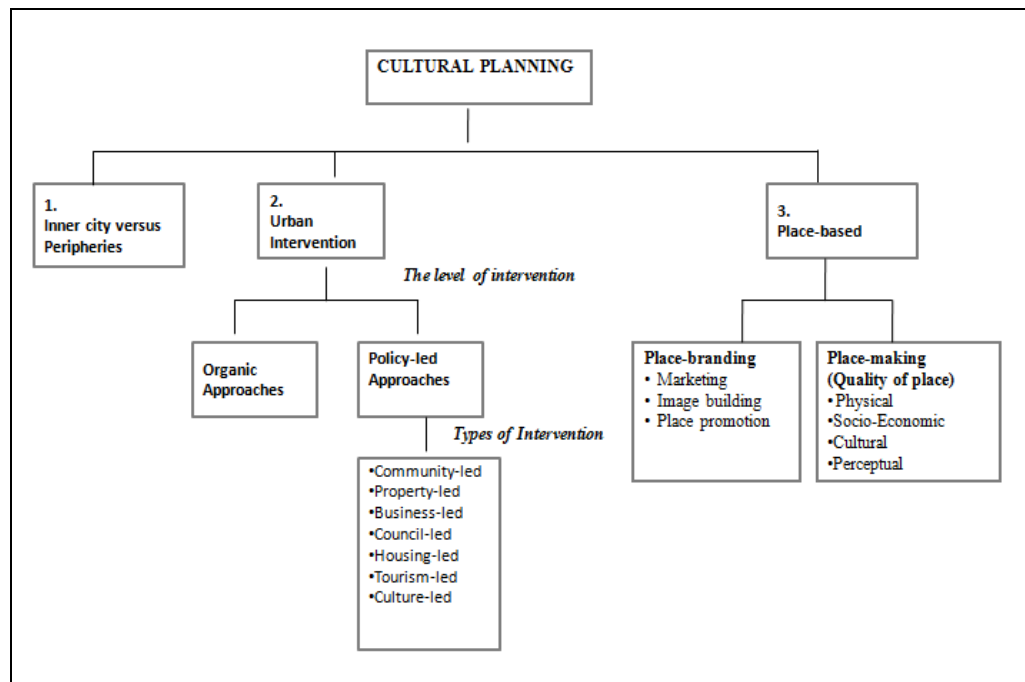


Figure 2.6 Planning/Design Process of Creative Places

2.3.1 INNER CITY OR PERIPHERIES

The decline in city centres since the 1980s has impelled policy makers and city authorities to find ways of rescuing city centres by locating creative industries in central locations (Evans, 2005; 2009b). Inner-city quarters have become the focus of regeneration and centres for creative industries (Landry, 2004). The key question is how spatial planning might help creative industries to flourish in these central districts. The literature suggests that further investigation on the locational and property requirements of these industries is important in order to respond to their specific needs, and to decide whether restructuring existing cultural quarters or developing new districts is the better alternative (Gornostaeva, 2009; Yigitcanlar et al., 2008c).

The literature indicates a need for further examination of the prospects and constraints of locating creative industries in inner cities or on peripheries. The key issues that need investigation include the dilemma between the investing in inner cities to accommodate these industries and developing the new urban districts, business parks, and media-cities towards the peripheries of cities (Gornostaeva, 2008; Keeble and Nachum, 2002; Montgomery, 2007; Westminster City Council, 2007).

Newman and Smith (2000) highlighted the importance of concentrating cultural production and creative industries in inner-cities as clustering and co-location offer advantages. Hutton (2004) put forward the importance of supporting inner-city investments to harness rapid growth in the new economy. Yigitcanlar et al. (2008c) emphasised the importance of centrality for creativity in a successful inner-city regeneration project such as 22@Barcelona and Helsinki Digital Village. On the other hand, other authors argue the benefits of more spacious, new generation knowledge precincts with mixed-use patterns of residential and recreational uses as in the case of One North-Singapore, Sophia Antipolis-Nice, Arabianranta-Helsinki, Ars Electronica-Linz and Zaragoza Milla Digital that are not located in the inner city areas (Illmonen and Kunzmann, 2008; Paradas and Amal, 2008; Vegara, 2008). Evans (2005) argued the advantages of purpose-built creative precincts with their new infrastructure as providing highly upgraded building quality, modern power supply grids, telecoms network, centralised climate control, pneumatic refuse collection systems, energy efficiency and noise pollution control. Although clustering theory stresses the importance of centrality, in practice, creative industry companies also tend to move towards the periphery or to sub-centres either because of the problematic nature of the city centres or the attractiveness of outer locations (Gornostaeva, 2008; Scott, 2000). Nachum and Keeble (2003) underlined this paradox between theory and practice as clustering in city centres versus tendencies for decentralisation from city centres to peripheries.

The scope of the research

In this context, this research focuses on inner-city creative quarters and attempts to explore their potentials and weaknesses in accommodating the film industry and supporting individuals' creative production processes hence it is important to understand the role of urban planning and design.

2.3.2 URBAN INTERVENTION: POLICY-LED OR ORGANIC

There are two main approaches regarding the debate on the desired level of urban intervention; organic and policy-led approaches. Generally, inner-city quarters fall in to

the organic type of urban development, which Madanipour (2011) defined as the decisions of individuals and firms rather than public policy influencing the urban development process. The policy-led approaches also have some different strategies and types of intervention through different planning approaches such as community-led, business-led, property-led and council-led; and also different tools that guide the reconstruction process such as housing-led, tourism-led and culture-led (Figure 2.6).

These two different urban development models have been conceptualised by several academics using different terminology. Bell and Jayne (2004) named these development types of creative quarters as *un-planned/organically developed or planned/institutionally developed*. The same approach has been coined by Shorthouse (2004) as *vernacular* and *engineered approaches*. An engineered approach takes its lead from professional and institutional perspectives and priorities. By contrast vernacular approaches are characterised by bottom-up informal interactions, and everyday social and cultural networks. Examples of this kind of smaller-scale and organic approach can be seen in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Manchester, Bristol, Nottingham and Swansea (Shorthouse, 2004). Another scholar, Turok, suggested that distinctiveness is derived either *organically* or *by superimposition* (Turok, 2004). The former is based on endogenous potentials of city such as built heritage, urban landscape, urban morphology and socio-cultural structure. According to this, creativity is embedded in established structures and can be derived by “incremental, slow and natural processes based on historical, backward-looking ones”. The latter relates to exogenous structures such as media and market forces, innovative design and city marketing projects. This is to say, creative quarters can also be deliberately created with opportunity-oriented, and forward-looking strategies (Gospodini, 2004; Turok, 2004). Another scholar, Tallon (2010) clearly conceptualised the development of these creative quarters as the ones which developed in an *accidental fashion* over a period of sometime whereas some recent creative quarters have been developed and marketed as *purposeful models* or policy instruments for urban regeneration; examples in the UK include those in Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle, Gateshead, Sheffield, Dundee, and Wolverhampton (Tallon, 2010). Hence cities can adopt either *vernacular, bottom-up, organic approaches or engineered, top-down, policy-led approaches*. Each

approach has different strengths and weaknesses. The *policy-led approach* is capable of developing neat, long-term plans for managing cultural resources and delivering support to the creative sector; it provides a framework from which decisions about cultural development can be made that take into account the diverse needs and competing demands of the quarter (Tallon, 2010). On the other hand, the organic approach *is* better able to cater for the interactivity and fluidity of creative practice, and is more consistent with a view of culture and creativity as *ends in themselves* rather than as *instruments for economic ends*; and the outcomes of vernacular approaches are less likely to be susceptible to the vagaries of funding regimes, property markets and other macro-economic variables (Tallon, 2010). Griffiths (1993:7) stated that policy makers need to be able to read the “creative ecology of a particular place both in terms of its stage of development and the blend of its sub-sectors of the creative industries that make it up”.

The intervention models and the actors involved is also categorised into two. Carmona et al. (2003) differentiated between the actors involved in the process, such as *knowing* and *unknowing urban designers*. The first are the professionals who are the urban designers, planners, architects and developers and the second are mainly associated with the people involved in the process such as estate managers, development industry, property owners, business and other non-governmental organisations involved in the decision-making process. Whether it is a conscious design or not, there is nonetheless a certain rationality behind this. As Carmona et al. (2003) suggested any intervention in the urban development process has a planning rationality behind it; even when people are buying and selling their houses they have rationales for their decisions:

“Today’s city is not an accident. Its form is usually unintentional, but it is not accidental. It is the product of decisions made for single, separate purposes, whose interrelationships and side effects have not been fully considered. The design of cities has been determined by engineers, surveyors, lawyers and investors, each making individual, rational decisions for rational reasons” (Barnett, 1982 in Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007:9).

Although most of the creative quarters developed organically; or to some extent they have an organic development process. They have also become the focus of the urban planning process in order to prevent obsolescence, increase the potential of the area

or to renew the identity/image of the area. These policy-led urban intervention models which correspond to the second approach are discussed below.

2.3.2.1 POLICY-LED APPROACH

This type of development process requires intervention by professional planners. Urban interventions have different purposes - to upgrade the quality, to renew the public realm, to regenerate the area and so on. When an urban quarter experiences deprivation, in terms of “physical/structural, functional, image, legal and official, locational, financial or economic obsolescence” (Lichfield, 1988 in Tiesdell et al., 1996:22-25), it also becomes an agenda item for the planning authorities. To achieve these aims and to find a solution for these mentioned problems there are many different urban strategies involving different actors and also targeting different aims. Each approach has a different subject matter or policy focus, or follows a different process which is defined by various groups. Depending on the time period and purpose of the initiative, the urban intervention is referred to in a number of different ways; urban conservation, preservation, reconstruction, renewal, regeneration, revitalisation, rejuvenation, rehabilitation, preservation, restoration, refurbishment, reconstitution, replication, demolition-redevelopment or refurbishment for current use. Tiesdell et al. (1996) emphasised the importance of change and they stated that an environment which is unable to change invites its own destruction. As all urban projects aim for a kind urban change they are the part of purposeful planning and design efforts, for which this research proposes to use a general, umbrella terminology, *urban intervention*. The linking factor among all these intervention models is that they are all related with a part of the city and are based on more incremental neighbourhood-scale urban projects. Tiesdell et al. (1996) and Tallon (2010) evaluated these different strategies in the context of a historical and thematic overview as introduced in the following section.

Conservation/preservation

Tiesdell et al. (1996) conceptualised the three waves of preservation beginning from World War II. The first comprehensive attempt to record and protect occupied historic buildings came in the UK during the Second World War with the first Town and

Country Planning Act in 1944. This was the beginning of the first wave which is based on *nationalist, religious and just single building-based* preservation attempts. By the 1960s, as these central locations were regarded as obsolete, they became the subject of proposals for clearance or comprehensive profit-based redevelopment projects. Then, by the 1970s, as these quarters gained increased prominence due to the social changes of the era and changes of values, cities underwent a revaluation of their quarters also as a reaction to modernist planning approaches. Afterwards *area-based conservation* came onto the planning agenda. This approach views the quarters as a whole, focusing on groups of buildings as well as the spaces in between the buildings and the surrounding urban spaces. There have been several attempts to prepare the ground for this approach. These include the 1963 Buchanan Report aiming to regulate traffic in towns, a government report named 'Historic Towns and the Planning process' (1966), and a report by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, entitled 'Preservation and Change' (1967) which accelerated the area-based conservation projects (Tiesdell et al., 1996). Tiesdell et al. (1996) stressed the importance of area-based conservation rather than the building-based preservation as the latter does not allow for change in the economic sense. Buildings are preserved and no change is permitted in conservation areas; so the design of the new developments and spaces in-between buildings also gains importance. The third wave has been conceptualised as *fragmented, ad-hoc, local approaches* which aims for revitalisation through growth management (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

Cultural planning suggests a more participatory planning process based on interculturalism and co-operation between artists and scientists, and aims to integrate the public, private and voluntary sectors, as well as different institutions, professions, and disciplines for decision making (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2004). These approaches apply different types of intervention to regenerate these locations through different planning approaches such as *community-led, business-led, property-led, council-led; and also different tools that guide the reconstruction process such as housing-led, tourism-led, and culture-led*.

Community participation/engagement

Community participation at the local level may be one of the key elements contributing to the strengthening of *community bonds* (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2004). Montgomery (1995) defined community as *self-organised traders, landowners, voluntary sector, and individuals*. Murray (2004) suggested the *community ownership* model which is based on encouraging people to use the places as in the case of Denmark. He acknowledged that there are elements that can be *designer-in*, but the projects that generate ownership can meet the needs and can be adapted for change. He defined this as a new kind of urban development. Murray (2004) indicated that *coordinated action* is required in order to achieve the potential of neighbourhoods to become *cultural hubs*.

Property-led and development industry

As Montgomery (1995) illustrated in the case of Temple Bar one of the key success factors of the strategies was consultation with stakeholders. Besides, Roodhouse (2006) also suggested that the alternative is the cultural entrepreneur/private sector-led model as an individual provides vision, energy and drives to establish the project. However, whatever the chosen vehicle, there are risks and these need to be understood and addressed in any attempt at developing a quarter. Cities have different problems, different potentials and different opportunities, so it is important to develop cultural planning strategies which are *context-driven*, and which aim to build from what exists. Montgomery (1990) suggested that strategies should avoid replicas, should pursue a *property-support strategy* rather than a *property-led one*; should balance the consumption- and production-based strategies, aim to achieve providing for the needs of people living in the city centre as well as the suburbs and also visitors which Montgomery defines as *critical mass* by combining popular and elitist, avant-garde art (Montgomery, 1990).

Critique of policy-led approach

The key authors conceptualising cultural quarters, Montgomery (2003) and McCarthy (2005 and 2006) provided evidence from different case studies stressing the contribution of art and culture-led urban regeneration, and they asserted it is possible

to create successful cultural quarters through strategic planning; however, others disagree that culture and art always contribute. For example Miles and Paddison (2005) argued that a more critical exploration of the application of culture-led regeneration is required. Besides there are critiques towards the use of culture as a vehicle for urban policies and the way in which they are applied. The cultural policy-led urban regeneration strategies of the 1980s and 1990s in Europe adopted too narrow a concept of regeneration which focused on mainly economic or physical dimensions and failed to develop a more holistic approach integrating cultural, symbolic, social and political aspects (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2004). Bianchini and Ghilardi (2004:247) argued that the bases of cultural planning approach are broad definitions of “cultural resources not the aesthetic definitions of culture as art”. They critiqued the policy-based traditional approaches as they are more sectoral focused such as developing policies for theatre, dance, cinema, literature, the crafts and other cultural forms. They suggested that the cultural planning approach should be based on cultural resources such as:

“Arts, heritage, the cultures of youth, ethnic minorities, communities of interest, local traditions, dialects, rituals, local and external perceptions of a place, jokes, songs, literature, myths, tourist guides that depicts the place, topography, the qualities of the natural and built environment, the diversity and quality of leisure, cultural, drinking, eating and entertainment facilities, the local crafts and etc” (Bianchini and Ghilardi, 2004:245).

This new approach places the cultural resources at the centre of policy making, aiming to contact and transform with local cultural values not as tools for achieving non-cultural goals.

As with problems of any urban change the benefits and problems associated with urban regeneration are not clearly defined. Tallon (2010) and Hall (2006) criticised urban regeneration for being highly selective, favouring particular spaces and social groups, and that overall it has been partial both spatially and socially. No single policy, strategy or approach should be seen as a panacea or magic solution; they should be integrated and combined subtly to avoid *a one-size-fits all approach* (Tallon, 2010). There are dilemmas towards the strategies for deciding upon the necessary urban intervention. Markusen and Gadwa (2010) discussed these different strategies and claim that there is still a gap in the evaluation of the contribution of cultural-led urban strategies. They discussed the dilemma between investing in *designated cultural*

districts anchored by large performing and visual arts spaces versus dispersed *natural cultural districts* with smaller-scale non-profit, commercial and community cultural venues. A further dilemma concerning the strategies is whether to invest in attracting visitors which is a *tourist-targeted* strategy, or to invest in responding to the citizens' and residents' needs which is a *local-serving cultural investments* strategy. So the main question that arises is when and where to invest. These intervention strategies have other limitations as well. Hence this research does not attempt to evaluate the contribution of the cultural strategies; however it acknowledges that there are problems relating to these strategies and it is better to be cynical and critical towards them as the research debates have not succeeded yet in agreeing on whether cultural investments have made places better than places without any strategy or urban intervention.

2.3.2.2 SUCCESSFUL URBAN INTERVENTION: URBAN STEWARDSHIP

Preserving or conservation of these areas becomes the focus of urban intervention as they have "aesthetic value, value for architectural, environmental and functional diversity, cultural resource value, values for continuity of cultural memory and also economic and commercial value" (Tiesdell et al., 1996: 13-17). On the other hand the design process of these historic quarters is also very important. Tiesdell et al. (1996) suggested that there are several main issues which should be considered when designing. The projects should focus on ensuring *visual continuity, aesthetic integrity, contextual harmony and continuity and juxtaposition*. As well as preserving the context they also suggested that new developments should be allowed that enhance the overall spatial character of the area. Tiesdell et al. (1996) suggested that for a successful revitalisation the projects should accommodate the necessary economic change. They stressed that "there is no standard formula as places differ in their histories, cultures, politics, leadership and particular ways of managing public-private relationships" (Tiesdell et al., 1996:202). It is important to recognise the assets and opportunities of each urban space, understanding the dimensions of obsolescence and continuing stewardship after the revitalisation with active management and custodianship; in Montgomery's terms, it is *urban stewardship*, which means helping a

place to help itself (Montgomery, 1995: 108). Tiesdell et al. (1996) suggested that as well as physical regeneration, the economic revitalisation of these districts is very important. They discussed that, as well as the residents and other community groups, it is also necessary that business, major landlords, development companies and local amenity groups are involved in the planning process. That is why property development is a necessary but not just a sufficient condition of revitalisation; success is related to the peaks and troughs of property markets (Tiesdell et al., 1996).

2.3.3 PLACE-BASED: PLACE-MAKING OR PLACE-BRANDING

Urban design and revitalisation is a very important component of cultural planning as suggested by Montgomery (1990). He argued that urban design should be part of the cultural planning strategies especially supporting the hard and soft infrastructure, thus making qualitative improvements in the quality of life for both visitors and residents. In this sense public spaces become places where people from all ages and social groups can hang around in, and the existence of *transitional spaces between* public and private subsequently ease the movement of people and encourage the flow of activities. *Users* rather than *uses* should be the main concern. Montgomery's approach is concerned with the *soft infrastructure* of everyday life and his suggestions for a new cultural planning approach are based on the intangible characteristics of urban environments such as *the overall context, diversity, choice, vitality, flow, safety, economic-physical-emotional access, environmental quality, participation and public-private cooperation, cosmopolitanism, identity, sense of place, aesthetic quality, and also legibility* (Montgomery, 1990).

Social Interaction and Design

One of the important success conditions of an urban intervention is sustaining or enhancing the social interaction. Bianchini and Ghilardi (2004: 247) discussed that *social cohesion* is difficult to achieve as our cities are marked by economic and lifestyle differences. Instead they suggested that *social interaction* can be promoted between different groups by providing the opportunities to allow different social groups inhabit the same territory. The key issue is designing an *open -minded space not a single -*

minded space which maximises the potential of cultural resources, and allowing flexible uses and accommodating different users while allowing interaction. The issue that should be addressed is how to accommodate many different groups and cultures, thus allowing interaction to produce *reciprocal enrichment*. Secondly, as Bianchini and Ghilardi (2004) stressed, it becomes much more important to design to increase social interaction and intercultural exchange and innovative capacities of neighbourhoods.

These approaches and the role of urban design/planning, whether through a policy-led approach or an organic approach affect the development processes of these creative quarters. As summarised in Figure 2.6, the place-based approach is also important, and this can be separated into two groups; place-branding strategies, aiming to promote/brand these places through city marketing strategies and place-making initiatives aiming to invest in quality of place through urban design. The importance of urban design and achieving the quality of place deserves a wider debate; hence it is discussed within a separate section in detail in Chapter 3, also relating to Florida's conceptualisation and urban design research. Place-branding approaches also call for further debate; however, this concept is not the focus of this research but can be searched for within the literature.

2.4 CONCLUSIONS: FILM INDUSTRY-BASED INNER-CITY CREATIVE CLUSTERS

How does the critical review of the literature in this chapter inform the case study selection?

This chapter reviewed the theories towards clustering of creative activities and types (i.e. the creative city, the creative class, and the cluster theory) and the place-making processes of these specific inner-city quarters. It contained three main sections. The first part is about the creative city debate; the second one focused on the creative industry quarters and economics of clustering and the third section discussed the planning and design process of these quarters. This chapter introduced the conceptual confusions in terms of defining creativity and its relation to urban place especially towards *creative class, creative industries, creative clusters, creative industry quarters*

and *quality of place* which are the main terminologies used within this research. The review of the terminology used for creative industries in Section 2.1 was helpful in terms of understanding the different perspectives and the origins of the concept. In Section 2.2 the review of the concepts applied in defining these specific inner-cities facilitated an understanding of the nature of these places, and informed the later methodology selection. These different terminologies emphasise the richness of the debate and potentials for further research. On the other hand too many concepts make it difficult to develop a common ground for an interdisciplinary research approach. These conceptual discussions lead to defining the criteria for case study selection which can be limitedly termed *film industry-based inner-city creative clusters*.

The literature review introduced within this chapter shed light on creativity and its relation to urban place. It helped to understand the different layers through which creativity and urban place might be linked. These findings and the research gaps defined within this chapter informed the case study selection process and how the cases are conducted. The creativity discourse points out the importance of human capital as the engine of economic growth for nations and cities. In addition, it points out the shift towards acknowledging the importance of soft infrastructure as well as hard infrastructure. That is why it deserves further exploration in spatial disciplines, as the main objective of urban design is making better places for people. However the critique of the creative city debate also points out the dangers that this conceptualisation has. Although creative class theses shifted the focus onto human capital, there is the danger however of commodification of these unique skills of people by linking it with profit-based approaches. Departing from Florida's (2002) approach the study also acknowledges the critique of Landry (2000) that all of the residents of the city should be included with the debate, not just the creative workers. In this sense the case study research also included the residents and the businesses living and working in Soho and Beyoglu especially when discussing the creativity and urban development processes (in Chapter Sections 5.7 and 6.7)

The literature suggested that investing in the film industry has valuable outcomes. This highlights the importance of investigating the spatial needs of film industry clusters in terms of location, buildings and office space. There are city-wide studies exploring the

film industry and its location in cities; however there is hardly any research exploring the film clusters at the neighbourhood scale. Another finding of this literature review is that there is little research in Turkey in relation to the creativity debate linking it to global examples and film industry clusters.

Section 2.3 discussed the three basic dilemmas which also helped to define the scope of the research. These debates structured the presentation of findings in case study chapters as the factors affecting clustering and de-clustering. As introduced within Section 2.3, one of the tools of urban intervention is suggested as investing in quality of place. The following Chapter 3 focuses on just the quality of place concept and reviews the concept both in the creative city literature and in the place-making literature.

CHAPTER 3 ANALYSING THE QUALITY OF PLACE

This chapter focuses on the *quality of place* in relation to the concepts discussed in the previous chapters. Termed by Florida (2002), it refers to the characteristics of urban environments which attract and retain the so-called creative class and accommodate the creative industry companies (Florida, 2002). On the other hand, quality of place has also become one of the research themes of urban design literature. Analysing the characteristics of places that make them the destinations of play, work, life and visits and also incorporating place-making initiatives has always been one of the objectives of urban design. However, the creative clustering debate and the quality of place of the cultural/creative quarters have not been explored in urban design literature except by Montgomery (1995, 2003, and 2007) who has evaluated the field of enquiry. In addition, in creative city literature there is also little empirical research about the quality of place, especially at the neighbourhood level (Brown and Meczynski, 2009; Smit, 2011; Trip, 2007). Hence, in Section 3.1, below, the quality of place concept, is discussed based on the creative city debate, followed by a focus on urban design theories in Section 3.2

3.1 QUALITY OF PLACE IN CREATIVE CITY LITERATURE

Florida (2002) asserted that certain characteristics of place fosters creativity and attracts these so-called creative class and creative industries. According to him, in addition to economic and geographical issues of creative city formation “it is quality of place that completes the picture...Quality of place is the ability of place to capture the imagination, dreams, and designs of young creative workers” (Florida 2005: 86). The ability of place to attract and retain this talent is a key factor in creating the environment that the creative economy needs to thrive. Florida (2002) suggested that in addition to physical characteristics such as *authenticity, attractiveness, spatial diversity, richness of cultural and leisure amenities, cinemas, outdoor sports facilities, and presence of third places for social interaction*, socio-cultural characteristics such as *openness to diversity, ethnicity, sexual orientation, tolerance to alternative styles,*

presence of lively cultural scene, street life, and urban buzz are important in the location decision of individuals. Quality of place includes the soft infrastructure (look and feel of the city as well as socio-cultural dimensions) and hard infrastructure (availability of jobs, higher wages, and affordability of housing and so on) (Baum et al., 2007; Brown and Meczynski, 2009).

There are advocates of the quality of place concept who claim that it affects the location decision of individuals and firms (Carlino and Saiz, 2008; Landry, 2000; Ley, 2003; Llyod, 2004; Smit, 2011; Trip, 2007). Upgrading the quality of place is highly important both from the point of generating economic activity, and in ensuring the spatial, aesthetic and cultural needs and psychological wellbeing of people. Furthermore quality of place is generally considered important for urban competitiveness through providing distinctiveness (Trip, 2007; Turok, 2004). One of those who critiqued Florida's thesis, Nathan also agreed that quality of place also matters and "the right mix of physical, economic and socio-cultural assets do help some cities and may be important longer term advantageous" (Nathan, 2005:6).

Other research in gentrification studies also showed that taste and lifestyle is important in neighbourhood upgrading and accommodating the artists who are also seen as the pioneers of urban transformation, especially in leading gentrification (Ley, 2003). Landry (2000) who introduced the term creative city in 2000 also identified the preconditions for a creative city. He described the attributes of place contributing to economic, social, environmental and cultural vitality as it is shown in Figure 3.1; however he did not discuss the physical setting of these places in terms of the urban form, land use, and visual aspects. Furthermore both Florida's and Landry's explanations did not focus on the characteristics of urban places at the neighbourhood scale/level.

QUALITY OF PLACE					
FLORIDA (2002)	LANDRY (2000)				
Big ticket amenities like professional sports, the fine arts, cultural destinations like museums and art exhibits	Economical Vitality/Viability	Social Vitality/Viability	Environmental Viability/Vitality		Cultural Viability/Vitality
Large numbers of visibility, active young people	Levels of employment	Levels of social interaction-cohesion	Ecological sustainability	Design aspects	Identity
Easy access to outdoor activities	Disposable income	Activity	Air-noise pollution	Legibility	Memory
A vibrant music and performance scene with a wide range of live music opportunities	Annual numbers of visitors-tourists	Low level of deprivation	Waste use and disposal	Sense of place	Tradition
Night life experiences	Retail performance	Chance encounters	Traffic congestion and green areas	Architectural distinctiveness	Communication
Healthy Environment	Property-land values	Communication		Connectivity and synergy	symbols which express a city's distinctive nature
Diverse, supportive, youth-friendly environment		Mobility between different social strata		The quality of street lighting	
More participated activities, social events, exhibitions		Civic pride		Safe and friendly urban environments	
Outdoor amenities (sports-water sports)		Community spirit			
Lifestyle activities (vibrant music scene, outdoor restaurants, organic supermarkets, juice bars		harmonious race relations			
Accessibility, Not car-dependent, prefer mass transportation to learn more about city life		Vibrant civil society			
Places where they can readily plug in and develop a support structure of friends					
Environments that they can easily fit in					

Figure 3.1 Indicators of Creative Urban Environments (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000)

3.1.1 CRITIQUES OF FLORIDA'S QUALITY OF PLACE

As well as these supporters of, and similar approaches to Florida's conceptualisation, some criticise his view that quality of place affects the location decisions. Florida's ideas are particularly criticised by Malanga (2004), Glaeser (2005), Nathan (2005), Peck (2005), Markusen (2006), Scott (2006), Trip (2007) and Brown and Meczynski (2009).

There is criticism of the spatial scale of Florida's research, thus emphasising the need for a neighbourhood-scale research. Florida (2002) explained the attributes of urban places which attract creative industries and creative class especially at the national and metropolitan scales but did not explore the spatial aspects of urban place at the neighbourhood scale (Trip, 2007). Originally, quality of place was developed to measure the competitiveness of US cities. Therefore, there is a lack of empirical evidence to help understand to what extent quality of place affects the decisions of individuals rather than companies especially in Europe (Brown and Meczynski, 2009). Brown and Meczynski (2009) and Trip (2007) stated that quality of place relates to the behaviour of creative people rather than the location decision of firms.

Secondly, Brown and Meczynski's (2009) research findings indicated that quality of place is multifaceted and that cities themselves are indeed *complexities*. In addition, Trip (2007a) claimed that quality of place is a vague concept but this is because of its multiplicity and complexity not because of its lack of content. The attributes of quality of place are hard to define. However, Trip (2007) claimed that it offers the potential for future research. The main problem is how to measure it and its possible impact (Brown and Meczynski, 2009; Trip, 2007).

Thirdly, Malanga (2004) and Glaeser (2005) claim that the statistical evidence is rather thin, weak and lacking in analytical clarity. Florida did not show how his ideas work in practice.

Despite these critiques, Trip (2007) suggested that the novelty of Florida's ideas lies in the link he drew between urban economic development and quality of life issues, and how he replaced quality of life with the more specific notion of quality of place by paying more attention to socio-cultural aspects. At this point, Brown and Meczynski (2009) highlighted the need to overlap the socio-cultural and physical aspects of urban environments. They claimed that not only one aspect is dominant and both should be combined in future studies.

Brown and Meczynski's (2009) research introduced a different perspective. Their case study research in two different cities, Birmingham and Poznan, aimed to determine the importance of hard and soft location factors in the location decision of creative knowledge workers (Brown and Meczynski, 2009). In contrast to Florida's findings, their research suggested that soft location factors such as diversity of leisure and entertainment, diversity of built environment, openness and tolerance are less important than the hard factors such as economic factors, good employment opportunities, higher wages, good transport links and housing affordability; so it is not the place itself that attracts, rather their economic and personal priorities directs their decisions. Brown and Meczynski (2009) built on Florida's concept and emphasised the differences that have an effect on the location decision process. They suggested that it is not as straightforward as Florida suggested, and proposed that these differences be categorised. These soft and hard factors influence the decisions twofold; as an initial

attractor which is termed *triggering factors* and as retaining factors which are termed *steering factors*. Steering factors are related to soft factors such as quality of place, and triggering factors are related to hard factors such as economic issues, job opportunities, wages and others (Brown and Meczynski, 2009). Innovative, iconic architecture, suggested as one of the steering factors, and which is part of the place-branding strategies is important; however, this type of intervention alone cannot add to the overall *look and feel of the places* (Brown and Meczynski, 2009).

Smit (2011) used a different terminology; instead of quality of place and creative-class, he introduced *the district visual form* for the first and the creative entrepreneurs for the latter. Smit (2011) supported that the literature offers only limited knowledge about the value of district visual form to creative entrepreneurs. Smit (2011) agreed that visual qualities of a district are important compared to location factors at other spatial scales. He founded that *urban morphology, and public space, district architecture, waterfronts and mix of old and new uses* affect the location decision of the creative entrepreneur. This research also focused on the inspiration process of the creatives and the direct effect of the urban environment on their daily working process. In terms of the inspiration process Smit's (2011) study emphasised that the feelings they associated with the place improve the quality of their daily work. Smit (2011: 179) argued that "the district needs not to be directly inspiring for their product; instead it needs to be inspiring for their work process". This idea that place inspires is also supported by Drake (2003). Therefore referring to Stam's (2007) theory about location behaviour, Smit (2007) argued that visual quality may be a new element of *opportunity-driven location* behaviour rather than a *problem-driven location behaviour*.

In terms of the dilemma between the organic developments or planned developments, Smit's (2011) research findings indicated that these creative people prefer organic developments, rather than purpose-built office parks, business sites and suburban developments. In terms of the level of urban intervention, Trip's (2007) findings indicated that it is possible to plan *the* quality of place but it is *difficult* to plan *for* quality of place. Even though it might be possible to achieve the desired conditions through planning and design it will not be possible to capture the essence of

organically developed inner city cultural quarters. It is difficult to plan for authenticity and liveability; rather, creating favourable conditions is much more important.

Considering all these critiques and the potential of future research, Florida's conceptualisation deserves a further investigation especially in the urban design and planning research linking the existing debates with creativity. In addition to this, Trip (2007) also suggested that Florida's ideas can be considered as a general framework of the academic work focusing on creativity and quality of place. In the following section, quality and its relation to urban place is reviewed focusing on urban design literature

3.2 PLACE-MAKING: QUALITY AND URBAN PLACE

3.2.1 THE CONTEXT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCEPT

Quality has also been the subject of debate in contemporary urban design and planning literature and has been associated with several different conceptualisations such as *quality of life*, *good city form* and *successful cultural quarters* or the objectives of urban design aiming to make these successful places such as *design quality*. In the following sections these approaches are discussed.

Quality of Life

As the focus of social science literature, *quality of life* involves all aspects urban; from personal needs to socio-economic and cultural characteristics of cities (Chapman and Larkham, 1999). Chapman and Larkham (1999) referred to Cutter's (1985: 215) definition for quality of life which is "an individual's happiness or satisfaction with life". The indicators of quality of life are related to liveability factors such as transportation, job opportunities, housing, cultural facilities, health issues, etc. As well as these criteria, the planning process of these places plays a role in their overall quality. At this point Chapman and Larkham (1999) and Parfect et al. (1997) emphasised the important role of participation, appropriate timescale, and public and private partnership in providing the quality in the urban environment. Collaborative capacity in place-making contributes to people's lives, and the quality and liveability of the urban environment:

“Quality springs from a combination of factors relating to ‘sense of place’ such as legibility, collective memory and issues of historical continuum. To this we should nowadays include ‘inclusiveness’ and ‘diversity’ in a pluralistic society” (Parfect et al., 1997:135).

“While the products of urban design are important they only represent key stages of a long-term and continuing process. It is the achievement of real partnerships and participation in these processes that is the central challenge” (Chapman and Larkham, 1999:230).

Quality of place, design quality and perceived quality

Place, as an enclosed particular space, with user experience and meaning, emphasises the role of perception and experience in defining the overall quality of place including the characteristics of place and user’s satisfaction. The user’s experience and perception is defined as one of the dimensions of quality. At this point it is important to emphasise the difference between place and space using Madanipour’s (1996) definition:

“Space is seen as an open, abstract expanse and place is the part of space that is occupied by a person or a thing and is endowed with meaning and value. Place is a centre of “felt value” associated with security and stability, where biological needs are met. Place is an enclosed particular space with fixed identities and meanings” (Madanipour, 1996:23).

There are various factors affecting the quality of place. Llewelyn-Davies (2000) indicated that the *physical form*, the *management of a place* and the *capacity of the user* affect the interaction between the user and the place; they either encourage or discourage their desire to interact with the place. Good places which are actively managed and have suitable form encourage a positive interaction with the place and the users. However this is not the only main condition because it also depends on the *user’s capacity, desire or their ability to shape their surroundings* (Llewelyn-Davies, 2000).

Del Rio (2001) explained this dilemma and suggests a twofold terminology by coining it as *original design quality* and *perceived qualities* of urban places. The first one derives from *topography, clarity, responsiveness, large trees, public-private-semi-public relation, sidewalks, setback, and visual permeability*; and the latter involves perceptions, expectations, attractiveness and personal engagement with the place. Del Rio (2001) argued that quality of design is fundamental to its recognition as a special place in the city. Public image of the area - its perceived qualities, attractiveness and recognition as a special place in the city - is strongly related to the quality of the

original project and also to how it is perceived utilised and preserved by the resident community and by other users of the area (Del Rio, 2001).

Parfect et al. (1997) stressed that the direct emotional link with the urban environment is the elusive element of quality. This link is mainly about sensory responses between personal characteristics and urban environment. That is why Parfect et al. (1997: 135) suggested that the most important factor in urban quality is meaning. "A meaningful quality of environment in our town and cities is thereby the essence of urban quality". Parfect et al. (1997) argued that urban design meets the need to achieve urban quality, through its capacity to define these emotional links as an input into design process. Averil et al. (2001) linked this argument with creativity and claimed that emotions may be subject to creative exchange. At this point intangible soft characteristics of urban places associated with personal experience and perception become very important as an input in the design and planning process. Linking with these arguments El-Dien Ouf (2008) criticised modern planning and planned urban places as memories, feelings and other intangible values were not integrated into the planning process.

Importance of design quality

Quality has become the focus of urban planning and design especially since the 1990s (Chapman and Larkham, 1999). Beforehand, the building work had more financial and solid considerations. Punter and Carmona (1997) claimed that design is very important in the planning process. Although it is not the only legitimate concern, it should be the primary objective of the statutory planning system (CABE, 2006). This is supported by Llewelyn-Davies (2000) and Dawson and Higgins (2009); that spatial approach to the urban management strategies is needed:

"Design enhance the quality of people's lives, preserve the uniqueness of place, maintain vitality, ensure comfort and safety and creates compatible developments with environment" (Scheer, 1994 in Dawson and Higgins, 2009:3).

One of the problems of providing the desired level of quality is the complex decision-making process and reaching a mutual agreement. As there is no absolute definition of good design, and as urban design process involves various actors, it becomes difficult to reach a mutual agreement on good design as each actor has conflicting,

differing or competing interests. At this point, Carmona et al. (2002) suggested a holistic approach - they claimed that any urban design project can be assessed based on the morphological, visual, functional, social and environmental dimensions (Carmona et al., 2002). In addition to this, the emphasis in design quality has shifted from more visual appearance-based towards a process-oriented approach including other sustainability considerations and social equity aspects. Whatever the change is CAFE emphasised that good design can improve the quality of people's lives (CAFE, 2006).

The Urban Design Group (UDG) was formed in 1978 in the UK as a response to the growing dominance of systems and process-oriented approaches, especially after the 1960s. Francis Tibbald, the chair of the UDG, took the issue of quality further in his responses to the Prince of Wales' Ten Commandments identifying the key characteristics of quality. His approach was both concerned with the product and process approaches as these are defined as the two main dilemmas in the theory and practice of urban design (as suggested by Madanipour, 1997 and Parfect et al., 1997). There is also a worldwide interest to introduce public policy measures to improve design quality. Particularly with the UK planning policies and local policies, planning guidance recognises the importance of design and improving the quality of life, identity, functioning of urban place, and safety (Dawson and Higgins, 2009). Since the 1990s, the UK planning system focused more on the spatial design-based approach, and produced several reports such as Quality in Town and Country (QTC) in 1994, Urban Design Campaign (UDC) in 1995, By Design in 2000, A Policy on Architecture and Designing Place in 2001 and the updated Planning Policy Statement 1 in 2005. All of these emphasised the importance of good design and quality in buildings and the built environment as a whole (Dawson and Higgins, 2009). The report, By Design, is included in the national guidance in England and supported good design as central to good planning. Planning Policy Statement 1 supported that design is an integral part of the planning reforms as well. Despite all these benefits of design guidelines aiming to provide good design, Chapman and Larkham (1999) suggested that the design briefings might create uniformity and promote pastiche rather than innovation or creative design.

The different cycles of quality in urban place inform the planning process. El-Dien Ouf (2008) claimed that urban places face *cycles of higher or lower urban quality instead of neglect and upgrade cycles*. He suggested that the life cycles of urban areas from neglect to upgrade also shifted in the twentieth century. Functional, economic and social neglect arose more than physical neglect as many international, regional, and local organisations were involved in the planning and design process. The neglect in other dimensions also caused a lower level of urban quality. That is why functional economic and social upgrades target a higher urban quality (El-Dien Ouf, 2008).

After reviewing these approaches towards quality and its importance in the urban design process, the following section focuses on the classic urban design cannon especially the place-making facet of urban design theory and explores the relationship between quality and urban place.

3.2.2 PLACE-MAKING TRADITION IN URBAN DESIGN

Carmona et al. (2003) suggested that there are three main traditions of thought in urban design; *the visual-artistic tradition* which emphasises the visual qualities of buildings and space; *the social usage tradition* which is concerned with the social qualities of people, places and activities; and *the place-making tradition* which is the combination of these two approaches. It is concerned with making successful urban places by focusing on how well the physical environment facilitates the functions and activities taking place in that particular place. It approaches urban design as a discipline which concerns both the design and management of the public realm comprising the buildings, the spaces between buildings and the street, and activities taking place therein. This approach to urban design also produces several frameworks which are all concerned about identifying the *good city form* (Lynch, 1960), and *qualities of successful urban places* (Montgomery, 2003).

Carmona et al. (2003) attempted to structure this growing urban design literature into related dimensions and considerations which is based on a holistic approach rather than a normative approach aiming to outline the urban design qualities as a checklist. The place-making view of urban design which is *paradigm neutral* is not a *theory-of*

urban design; rather it is *theory-in urban design* (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007). Especially after the 1980s, a more prescriptive set of principles was developed as the basis of urban design. Carmona et al. (2003) reviewed the urban design theories and highlighted some of the key thinkers in urban design theory who suggested the principles and objectives of urban design (Carmona et al., 2003). This classic urban design cannon involving Lynch (1960, 1981), Jacobs (1961), Cullen (1961), Bacon (1974), Gehl (1971), Venturi et al. (1972), Alexander et al. (1977), Rowe and Koetter (1978), Norberg-Schulz (1980), Whyte (1980), Bentley (1985), Jacobs and Appleyard (1987), the Prince of Wales (1989), Tibbalds (1992) and CABI (2000), developed frameworks, performance dimensions, or principles towards making successful places (Carmona et al., 2003). Overall the principles have a common ground which is about making good places. These issues are introduced briefly in the following sections.

3.2.3 PRINCIPLES, DEFINITIONS AND FRAMEWORKS

3.2.3.1 THEORIES/DEFINITIONS OF URBAN DESIGN

In order to develop a comprehensive approach to quality of place in urban design literature it is also important to discuss the boundaries and definitions of urban design. There are problems in the definition of its meaning, its objectives and in justifying the importance of urban design (Madanipour, 2006). One of the gaps in the literature is the lack of an integrative framework, a theory that could explain urban design. As the attempts and definitions also emphasise these ambiguities, Madanipour (1997) argued that urban design is an evolving discipline with its problematic theoretical nature. Scholars have also attempted to explain these overlapping boundaries, pointing out the interdisciplinary nature of urban design as cities have multidisciplinary foundations. Rowley (1994) attempted an overview of the urban design literature, by reviewing the definitions, considerations, principles and actions of urban design. He concluded that it is not necessary to have a definition for urban design:

“It is pointless to search for a single, succinct, unified and lasting definition of the nature and concerns of urban design...Urban design is a complex phenomenon; difficult to grasp but undoubted importance; an interdisciplinary activity” (Rowley, 1994:195).

Appleyard (1982) indicated that “*there never could, nor should be a single definition of urban design*” (as cited in Rowley, 1994: 192). Madanipour (1997) explained these ambiguities and he asserted that the problematic nature of urban design is due to its coverage of a wide range of activities. *It is the multi-disciplinary activity of shaping and meaning urban environment, interested in both the process of this shaping and the spaces it helps to shape.* However unlike Appleyard (1982) and Rowley (1994), Madanipour (1997) indicated the need for a clear understanding of the concept, which will be beneficial in shaping the directions in which both research and practice could develop. At this point Carmona et al.’s (2003: 3) definition introduced a relatively clear approach to urban design: “urban design is the process of making better places for people than would otherwise be produce”.

One of the comprehensive theories of urban design is proposed by Trancik (1986) as three main categories. These theories are named as *figure-ground theory, linkage theory and place theory*. Sternberg’s (2000) study developed a more comprehensive approach to urban design suggesting an integrative theory for urban design. He reviewed the classic urban design cannon, and synthesised and extended the key debates. He suggested that urban design assures the *cohesiveness of the urban experience* and identifies integrative principles. Sternberg’s theory indicates the importance of restoring the qualities of coherence and continuity of the urban development process. This also supports the arguments of Carmona et al. (2003), accepting urban design as a process of *joining-up* the built environment, professions and professionals, and development processes. Sternberg (2000) suggested an integrative theory of urban design which involves five main objectives of urban design such as *urban form* (Camillo Sitte), *legibility* (Kevin Lynch), *vitality* (Jane Jacobs), *meaning* (Christian Norberg Schulz) and *comfort*.

Although many scholars have attempted to develop an integrative theory, approach and framework of urban design, however fraction, fragmentation, segregation and division are still the main problems of the discipline and also urban development (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007).

3.2.3.2 PRINCIPLES

Urban design has been practiced through history dating back to ancient cities. The first intentionally planned cities are the cities of Hippodamus of Miletus in the fifth century BC. However, the origins of urban design theory only date back to the 1860s, particularly as one of the concerns of urban planning which has become a popular discipline with the rise of modernism (Carmona et al, 2003; Tiesdell et al., 1996). There have been many thinkers and scholars who have attempted to develop theories towards designing and planning good urban environments since then. Contemporary urban design thought, however, is associated with the middle twentieth century and especially in America and the United Kingdom. It is not within the scope of this research to review all these theories. It is however useful to define the scope especially after the 1960s in relation to the place-making tradition. In this regard Carmona et al.'s (2003) definition for classic urban design canon informed the review, and the discussion is limited within this framework.

Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1961) was also seminal to the movement, particularly with regards to the concept of legibility, and the reduction of urban design theory to five basic elements, *paths, districts, edges, nodes, and landmarks*. Another contribution was again made by Lynch's (1981) study on good city form which produced five performance dimensions of urban design such as *vitality, sense, fit, access and control*. Later on, Bentley (1985) suggested seven qualities of urban design as *permeability, variety, legibility, robustness, visual appropriateness, richness and personalisation*. Jacobs and Appleyard (1987: 115-116) also suggested other seven objectives; *liveability, identity and control, access to opportunities, imagination and joy, authenticity and meaning, community and public life, urban self-reliance and environment for all*. Another attempt came from the Prince of Wales (Prince Charles) in 1998, listing the ten principles of successful urban places as *the place, hierarchy, scale, harmony, enclosure, materials, decoration, art signs, light and community* (Parfect et al., 1997). In response to Prince Charles's principles, Tibbalds (1992) suggested a more sophisticated urban design framework accepting that design was a subjective matter. However it is possible to arrive at a set of principles. Carmona and Tiesdell (2007)

summarised his ten commandments in the Urban Design Reader referring to successful urban place:

“Places matter most; learn the lessons of the past; encourage the mixing of uses and activities; design on a human scale; encourage pedestrian freedom; provide access for all; build legible environments; build lasting environments; control change and contribute to the greater whole” (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007:7).

CABE’s recent guide to urban design identified the seven objectives of urban design as *character, continuity and enclosure, quality of the public realm, ease of movement, legibility, adaptability and diversity* (CABE, 2000: 8). Ewing and Handy’s (2009) research about measuring the qualities of urban environment recommends eight major important urban design qualities in terms of physical characteristics of streets and their edges which are selected based on the importance assigned to them in literature such as *imageability* (Lynch, 1960), *enclosure* (Alexander et al., 1977; Appleyard, 1982; Cullen, 1961; Jacobs, 1993), *human scale* (Alexander et al., 1977), *transparency* (Gehl, 1971; Jacobs, 1993), *complexity* (Alexander, 1965; Cullen 1961; Gehl, 1971; Rapoport and Hawkes, 1970) and also legibility, linkage and coherence.

These principles are preoccupied with the product of urban design and not so much about the process. Rowley (1994) in his review of urban design theory also pointed out the gap when he reviewed these approaches. He emphasised that the time dimension is missing in this classic urban design cannon where he is inspired by Lynch’s (1972) continuity concept. At this point Rowley’s (1994) criticism led to another debate in urban design theory. Madanipour (1997) also contributed to the debate and defined the ambiguity as *urban design as a process* and *urban design as a product*. The first is about the procedural, analytical theories of urban design and the latter is about substantive, normative theories of urban design. Carmona and Tiesdell (2007) focused on the debate and emphasised the need to acknowledge the differences between these two approaches. Normative understanding sees urban design *as the process by which better urban environments come about* focusing on what urban design should be about; and analytical purposes tries to explain what urban design is about *as the process by which the urban environment comes about* (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007: 1). Madanipour (1997) suggested that urban designers should involve both approaches and the product of urban design should be seen as the product of different phases of

the urban design process. Rowley's (1994) definition also explains the dilemma between process and product and like Madanipour (1997) his focus is also on acknowledging urban design both as a process and as a product: "Urban design is about the design and management of good urban spaces and places" (Rowley, 1994: 195).

Carmona and Tiesdell (2007) suggested that it is very important to develop a holistic approach combining both substantive and procedural qualities of urban place to achieve quality in urban place. Overall, whether process or product, the quality of the whole matters because it is what people experience. Consequently, contemporary urban design is concerned with the quality of the public realm, both physical and socio-cultural, and the making and managing of meaningful places for people to enjoy and use (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007: 1): "There are no yes/no answers in urban design whether there are better and worse answers...The quality of urban place is not limited to certain time...Quality of urban place can only be known over time". At this point Chapman and Larkham (1999: 230) also had noted that: "You design the product and plan the process...While products of urban design are important; they only represent key stages of a long-term and continuing, process".

All these different quality indicators discussed above are grouped in the analysis framework shown in Table 3.3 (on page 84), based on the dimensions frameworks of urban design which is introduced within the following section. The framework derived from this literature review also guided the case study data collection and analyses process.

3.2.3.3 CONSIDERATIONS/DIMENSIONS OF URBAN DESIGN

As well as the various definitions and the theories introduced above there are several different considerations and dimensions of urban design. Cook (1980) classified the four considerations of urban design as *visual, functional, environmental qualities and also the urban experience*. Carr et al. (1992) introduced five common motivations making urban places such as *public welfare, visual enhancement, environmental enhancement, economic development and image enhancement*. Carmona et al. (2003) also developed an understanding of urban design conceptualising the dimensions and

considerations of urban design theory into six main sections; *morphological, perceptual, social, visual, functional* and *temporal dimensions*. Their approach also includes the time dimension when classifying urban design theory. They also emphasised the importance of implementing urban design and suggested that urban design practice can be categorised into four modes of action; *development process, control process, communication process* and also a *holistic urban design approach*. These dimensions help to understand the boundaries of the discipline.

3.2.3.4 COMPONENTS OF URBAN PLACE/CONCEPTUALISATION OF SPACE

Architectural and Urban Place Triads

As well as these principles and dimensions towards understanding and designing of urban place there have been various attempts to conceptualise and understand *place* in architecture theory and social theory. If these contemporary approaches are carefully examined, the origins of the conceptualisations go back to an architectural analysis of place which was developed by Vitruvius in BC 15, as introduced in Pollio (1999). Another point that should be highlighted is that nearly all conceptions are based on three main categories/dimensions/perspectives. This research proposes them as *Place Triads* towards conceptualising the place.

Vitruvius claimed that an architect should focus on three central themes when preparing a design for a building, which are collectively conceptualised as the *Vitruvian Triad*, comprising *utilitas* (function), *firmitas* (structure) and *venustas* (beauty) (Pollio, 1999). These principles form the components of architectural values or, in other words, the principles of architecture. Salama (2007) criticised that the Vitruvian triad is enough to explain the complexities of the twenty first century. At this point Salama (2007) suggested that the architectural theorist Salingaros' new triad is a better one to explain the architecture and urbanism of the twenty first century. He defines this new triad as shown in Figure 3.2, which is based on the three major books of Salingaros; *Anti-Architecture and Deconstruction* (Salingaros and Alexander, 2004), *Principles of Architecture* (Salingaros et al., 2005); and *a theory of Architecture* (Salingaros and Mehaffy, 2006).

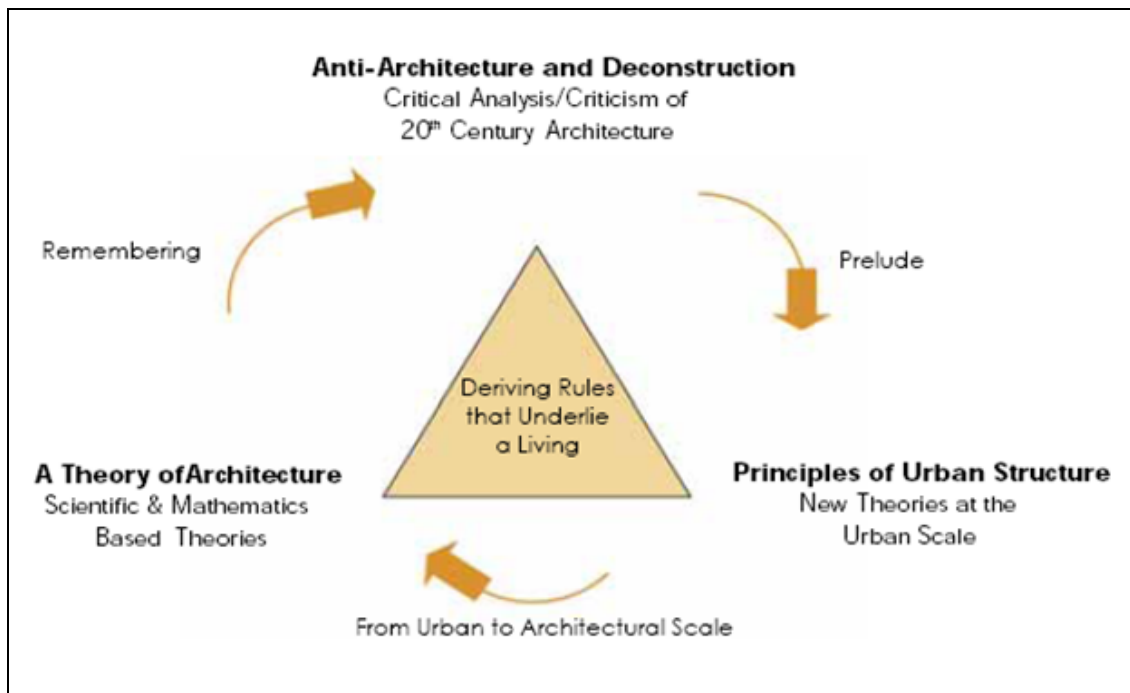


Figure 3.2 Salingaros Triad (Salama, 2007)

As for the urban design literature, the conceptualisations of urban place have parallels with Vitruvius's three principles of architecture. Canter (1977) described a place as the juxtaposition of three elements: *conceptions, actions, and physical environments*. Applying this model, urban design can be understood as a discourse that reflects and shapes the structure of urban life, through the dynamic connections in and among urban culture, urban activities, and urban form. Canter (1977) indicated that the nature of places is formed in the amalgam of three fundamental realms. He suggested a visual metaphor for the nature of places as *activities, physical attributes and conception*. Later, Punter (1991) reviewed these approaches and put forward another classification for the components of place, naming the three categories as *activity, physical setting and meaning*. These categories contain different sub-themes, which explain the main components of urban place. *The activities* (land uses, pedestrian flow or vehicle flow), *physical setting* (townscape, built form, landscape) and *the meaning* which is attributed by the users such as legibility, perceived attributes and qualitative aspects are combined together to explain the components of place (Figure 3.3).

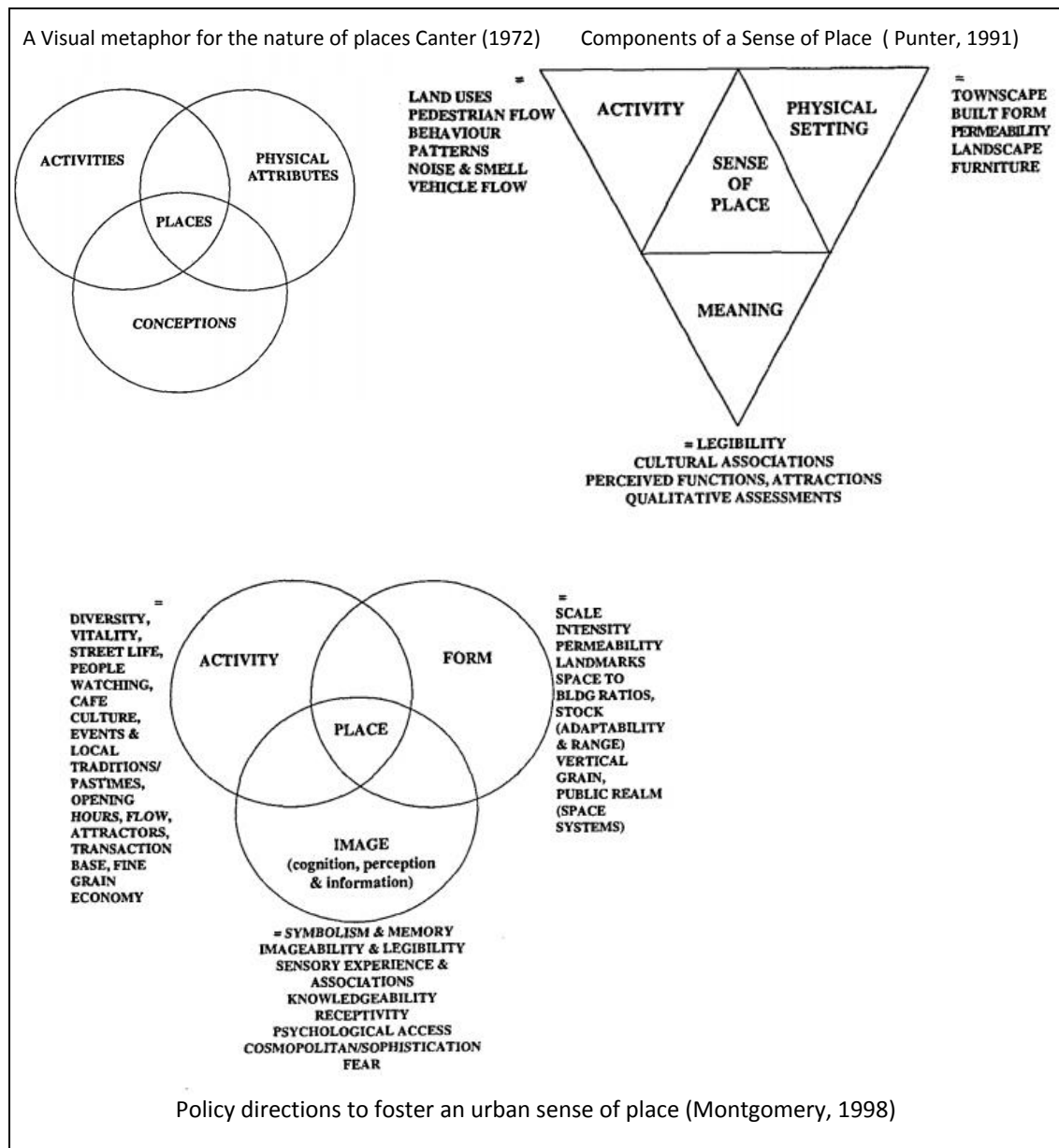


Figure 3.3 The Place Triads Conceptualising Urban Place (Montgomery, 1998)

It is Montgomery (1998) who adjusted these conceptions and suggested the basic principles of *successful urban cultural quarters* which is the focus of this research in terms of the spatial scale of place being investigated (Table 3.1). Having very close link with the conceptualisations of Vitruvius, Punter and Canter, Montgomery's framework is also based on the three main elements of place such as *activity, form and meaning*. As well as guiding the place-making process it is suggested to analyse and measure the success of a cultural urban quarter. Functional parameters are related with activity (diversity, vitality, street life, events, and cafe culture); physical *parameters* are related to urban form (scale, intensity, permeability, landmarks and public realm) and

perceptual parameters are related to the *image* (imageability, legibility, sensory experiences, and psychological access).

Table 3.1 Analysis Framework for Successful Cultural Quarters (Montgomery, 2003)

Successful Cultural Quarters	
Activity	Diversity of primary and secondary land uses Extent and variety of cultural venues Presence of an evening economy, including cafe' culture Strength of small-firm economy, including creative businesses Access to education providers Presence of festivals and events Availability of workspaces for artists and low-cost cultural producers Small-firm economic development in the cultural sectors Managed workspaces for office and studio users Location of arts development agencies and companies Arts and media training and education Complementary daytime and evening uses
Form	Fine-grain urban morphology Variety and adaptability of building stock Permeability of streetscape Legibility Amount and quality of public space Active street frontages People attractors
Meaning	Important meeting and gathering spaces Sense of history and progress Area identity and imagery Knowledgeability Environmental signifiers

Habraken (2000) described *physical order*, *territorial order*, and *cultural order* as the three underlying orders in any urban structure. These three orders establish an urban design framework that addresses the heterogeneity, complexity, and contradictions of the urban context. Short (2006) introduced these approaches, including the model of place by Canter (1977) and three urban orders by Habraken (2000) as an inclusive theory of urban design. These conceptualisations can be exemplified in social theory as well. For example Soja (1989), Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (2006) developed their conceptualisations towards understanding the place, which, for all of them, is based on the three groups, as described in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Production of Space in Social Theory (Adapted from Madanipour (1996))

Conceptualisation of Space	
Soja (1989)	Physical Space of material nature Mental Space of cognition and representation Third Space (Lefebvre offers third space as bridging the gap between mental and real space)
Lefebvre (1991)	Physical Space of nature Mental Space of logical and formal abstractions Social Space of sensory environments (Lived-perceived-conceived Space)
Harvey (2006)	Absolute Space Relational Space Relative Space

These triads attempt to explain the conceptualisation of urban place. The analysis framework shown in Table 3.3 (page 84) is constructed based on these conceptualisations, and the principles, objectives, dimensions of urban design introduced in Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3. As discussed above, one of the key areas of debate in urban design focussed on product and process. These frameworks discussed above conceptualise the urban place as a product rather than something that evolves over time. A number of scholars (Carmona and Tiesdell, 2007; Lynch, 1972; Madanipour, 1997 and Rowley, 1994) emphasised *process* as an important component of analysing the place. Therefore, informed by the contemporary urban design literature discussed in this section, this research builds on these findings and proposes the morphological analysis framework towards a holistic understanding of urban place Table 3.3. The table is mainly derived from urban design literature, research, philosophy and theories discussed in Chapter 2 and 3. However, this framework comprises many principles. It is important to explore which of these are more relevant in supporting the creative clustering. This initial framework is updated based on the findings of the case studies and proposed as an analysis framework for the quality of place supporting the creative clustering (Chapter 7, Table 7.12 on page 313).

Table 3.3 Morphological Analysis Framework for Quality of Place

Morphological Analysis Framework for Quality of Place			
Characteristics of Place	Physical	Functional	Diversity, proximity, density, mixed use, public spaces, adaptability, greenness, usefulness, concentration
		Urban Form	Legibility, readability, imageability, fit, accessibility, integrity, human scale, walkability, enclosure, adaptability, sittability, continuity, permeability, proximity, compactness, chance encounter
		Visual	Continuity, imageability, aesthetic quality, diversity, active frontages, colour, texture, floorscape, street furniture, vegetation, innovative architecture, architectural distinctiveness, built heritage, landmarks, streetscape
	Socio-Cultural	Social	Diversity, cosmopolitan, historicity, locality, welcoming, social integration, inclusion, cohesion and interaction, synergy, historical, cultural links, village atmosphere, creative people, tolerance
		Cultural	Diversity, events and festivals, cultural activities, cultural destinations and venues, 24/7 city, street art, public art, cafe culture
		Economic	Employment, job opportunities, clusters of industries, property/land values, affordability
		Perceptual	Identity, image, sense of place, sense of belonging, place attachment, safety, civic pride, authenticity, tradition
	Environmental Comfort	Air	Cleanness, temperature, humidity, climate, heating, cooling
		Sensecapes	Sonic, odoric, tactile, acoustic, noise levels
		Light	Sunlight, shade, outdoor lighting
		Other	Waste use and disposal, renewable energy
Factors	Policy-led		Design, planning, conservation, place branding, place-management, property-led, community-led, business-led, council-led, housing-led, tourism-led, culture-led
	Organic		Hard and soft networks, participation, partnership, governance, community involvement, land-owners creative-entrepreneurs, urban stewardship, decisions of firms and individuals

3.3 CONCLUSIONS: MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK FOR QUALITY OF PLACE

Chapter 3 reviewed the theories of quality of place in the creative city and urban design literature. A critical review was first undertaken of the theories regarding Florida's quality of place concept and attempts were made to define/identify the research questions. The second section reviewed the debate surrounding the place-making tradition, focusing on the principles, theories, definitions and considerations of urban design. All these theories helped to form the analysis framework that directed the data collection process for the case study (Table 3.3). The chapter has offered a general review of the main theories in different disciplines relating to creative clustering and quality of place and made an attempt to construct the relationship of these theories with an interdisciplinary approach. The chapter has bridged all the debates on the creative city and revealed similarities of objectives between two research areas. In one research area the focus is *creatives* and *the creativity*; whereas the focus of the second is *all*. So what makes the difference then? Does creativity need a different planning and design approach? Can these creativity discourses borrow the findings of the existing urban design knowledge? To what extent could these findings in place-making thought be relevant for creativity? Or does creativity research need a new approach?

Structuring the interviews and the questionnaires

The literature discussed in this chapter suggests that quality of place might be different for individuals and firms. This informed the case study and structured the data collection process; the interviews with the film company personnel, especially with the managers, aimed to reveal the factors affecting the company's location decision and the cognitive maps with these managers, and the questionnaires and street interviews with the creative workers aimed to understand the individual's choices, likes and dislikes and their interaction with place in terms of creativity. In addition to creatives, the questionnaire also aimed to involve the residents and businesses living and working in the area.

Data collection techniques

There are various factors affecting the overall quality of the built environment. These debates highlight the importance of emotional links and the need to incorporate them with the design process. That is why, in order to capture these perceptions and to analyse the spatial characteristics, various methods were applied in the case study which are introduced in the following methodology section. This twofold terminology (perceived quality and design quality) informed the cases. The interviews and questionnaires are conducted to understand the research participant's perceptions and the mapping and observations aim to analyse the spatial characteristics of the place.

- Perceived quality (Interviews, cognitive mapping and questionnaires)
- Design quality (Cluster mapping, observations, analysis of planning/design documents)

These debates introduced in both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 informed the design of the case study which focuses on the 'morphological analysis of the quality of place in the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters'. The case study findings which are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 will complete the overall framework. Chapter 4 introduces the methodologies applied.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 explains the methodologies applied to conduct this research. The following section explains the philosophical assumptions followed by a detailed description of the research design. Chapter 4 concludes with the evaluation and the limitations of the research techniques used.

This research applies Bryman's (1984) approach to social research which distinguishes between the philosophical issues and technical issues of the research process and is based on Creswell's (2003) model for research design. In Bryman's (1984) approach, research methodology is associated with philosophical concerns and refers to epistemological position whereas methods or techniques refer to ways of gathering data. Regarding the research design, the methodology of this research is designed as three main parts; knowledge claims, strategies of inquiry and methods of data collection based on Creswell's (2003) model for research design. These are explained in detail in the following section and are shown in Figure 4.1 on page 91.

4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS

4.1.1 THE USE OF THEORY AND KNOWLEDGE CLAIMS

Use of theory

There are four main approaches to constructing the relationship between the theory and the research; these are *inductive, deductive, reproductive or abductive* reasoning as conceptualised by Blaikie (2000). This research is based on inductive reasoning which aims to establish a theory through observing the social world. Inductive reasoning is also based on generalisations for the explanation of social phenomena (i.e. clustering). However generalisation is defined as one of the problems of social research as conceptualised by Mayring (2007) based on the two main criticisms of the constructivist (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003) and critical rationalist positions (Popper, 2002). On the other hand, there are different ways of generalising results in social research. Mayring (2007) and Flick (2009) emphasised that generalisations are needed

to explain and understand the social world. In the context of this research, the aim is to understand the relationship between creativity and urban place and also to develop an understanding relating to place-making of creative urban places. As for the knowledge claims, there are also different approaches. Bryman (2004) introduced positivism, critical realism and interpretivism as the main approaches for the epistemological considerations; and introduced constructivism and objectivism as the main approaches to ontological considerations. In terms of an epistemological background the study is based on critical realism that manifests recognising the reality of the natural order, the events and the discourses of the social world (Sayer, 1992). The theory suggests that it is possible to understand the social world only if we identify the structures that generate those discourses and if they can be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences. As critical realism assumes that we can only know the truth as our perception and knowledge can attain it, this research accepts these assumptions of critical realism for the accuracy of the knowledge and the generalisations produced within the research. Sayer (1992) defined positivism as the orthodox conception of science which relates to naturalism. He opposes naturalism and proposes that the object of social science should be different from the object of natural science and therefore should be studied with a different methodology. These two approaches have attracted different debates on the possibility of empiricism. Positivism focuses on experiment and asserts that it is possible to attain scientific knowledge and truth with empirical research (Sayer, 1992). The results of empirical research can be accepted as the truth and the same method can be applied in the social sciences and the natural sciences. In this context empiricism is possible on condition that we accept that the social world is a hypothetical closed system for a single point in time (Sayer, 1992). On the other hand the realist approach assumes that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it. Our knowledge of world is theory-laden and that is why we cannot provide corresponding truth (Sayer, 1992). In order to explain and understand the social world we have to develop a critical understanding of it. According to this critical realist approach, pure empirical research, which is also affected by our observation, is not possible if we aim to understand the social world (Bryman, 1994; Sayer, 1992). Sayer

(1992) also mentioned the field of confusion in social science emphasising the misinterpretation between lay knowledge and theoretical knowledge. These confusions also create problems between theory and empirical research. Social science should not limit its study to pure empirical research. The social world cannot be explained from an empiricist level. What should be considered is that empirical research and theoretical research should be synthesised in order for social science to reach its aim. In this context this research adopts the critical realism approach combining empirical research and theoretical research.

4.1.2 STRATEGIES OF INQUIRY

There are three main approaches to research design as qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches. Depending on the nature of research aims, problem formulation, the object of research, quality of data, issues of data collection and data analysis, the approaches applied might change (Creswell, 2003). The beliefs that govern the purpose and practice of qualitative inquiry are different than those that govern the quantitative approach.

Quantitative approaches are used for more statistical inquiries mainly in natural sciences. They are based on falsifiable hypothesis, and measurements. They isolate casual and dependent variables, and require accuracy and reliability in measurement. The sample structure and sizes are different to those of qualitative inquiry. Rather than explorations and explanations they are based on prediction, descriptions and prescriptions (Creswell, 2003). On the other hand *qualitative approaches* are flexible designs aiming to explore, explain and describe the object of research, involving some form of interaction between the researcher and participant or research objects. The approach moves between data and theory, moving forwards and backwards between them. The sources of information are based on words and interpretation, not on numbers or statistics. Qualitative research focuses on people and processes rather than structures. It searches for the participant's meaning, and gives detailed description of the object of the research. There are also different approaches in qualitative inquiry such as biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study (Creswell, 1997). These practices sometimes may overlap but they have

a quality that is unique to the qualitative paradigm when applied together (Esterberg, 2002; Flick, 2009; Mason, 1996).

This research is mainly qualitative in terms of the characteristics explained above. In addition, as it applies some quantitative techniques such as surveys, it can be described as a *mixed method*, an approach which emerged to close the gap when a single method is used particularly in social research which is crucial in the complex, interdisciplinary and dynamic social research world. As well as combining several different data collection techniques, the weaknesses of one technique can be overcome with the help of the others (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The mixed method approach converges qualitative and quantitative methods and is based on three strategies; sequential, concurrent and transformative (Creswell, 2003). This research is based on the concurrent procedure which unites the quantitative and qualitative methods at the same, in order to deal with the research problem extensively; both sets of data are collected in parallel during the research process and the information is put together for the interpretation of all the results (Creswell, 2003).

The data collection procedure is also based on grounded theory which also aims for argumentative generalisation in the process of data collection (Glaser and Straus, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1997). Grounded theory was originally developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss as an inductive approach. The method of study is essentially based on three elements: concepts, categories and propositions, or what were originally called hypotheses or assumptions. Grounded theory takes knowledge as a social construct and ends up generating a new theory. Data collection and data analysis run concurrently. In particular, the data collection process of this research is based on the grounded theory approach as it evolved and was modified through the data collection and analyses processes.

As introduced above this research adopts a multiple case study approach conducted in two different countries. In case study research, data are collected to explore the features of the cases. There are no specific methods for data collection and analysis; it can be qualitative or quantitative, or both. The methods are usually dependent upon the purpose of the study. A case can be anything that can be defined as a specific,

unique, bounded system. It can be something to be studied, such as a student, a classroom, a programme, a place or an institution and so on; in this case it is the urban place. A case study observes the characteristics of an individual unit. It is therefore important to define the limits of the cases (Yin, 2003). Stake (1995) indicated that a case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied. Depending on the findings, each case might predict similar results or contrasting results. According to Yin's (2003) argument which is about rationalities of case study selection, "case studies are applied when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is on continuous phenomenon within real-life context" (Yin, 2003:1). Case studies are related with mostly 'why' and 'how' questions aiming to explain, or explore the object of research. They also provide a possibility to deal with a full range of evidence, documents, interviews, observations and so on. These approaches to research design and the philosophical assumptions are shown in Figure 4.1. The relevant methods applied for this research is marked as well.

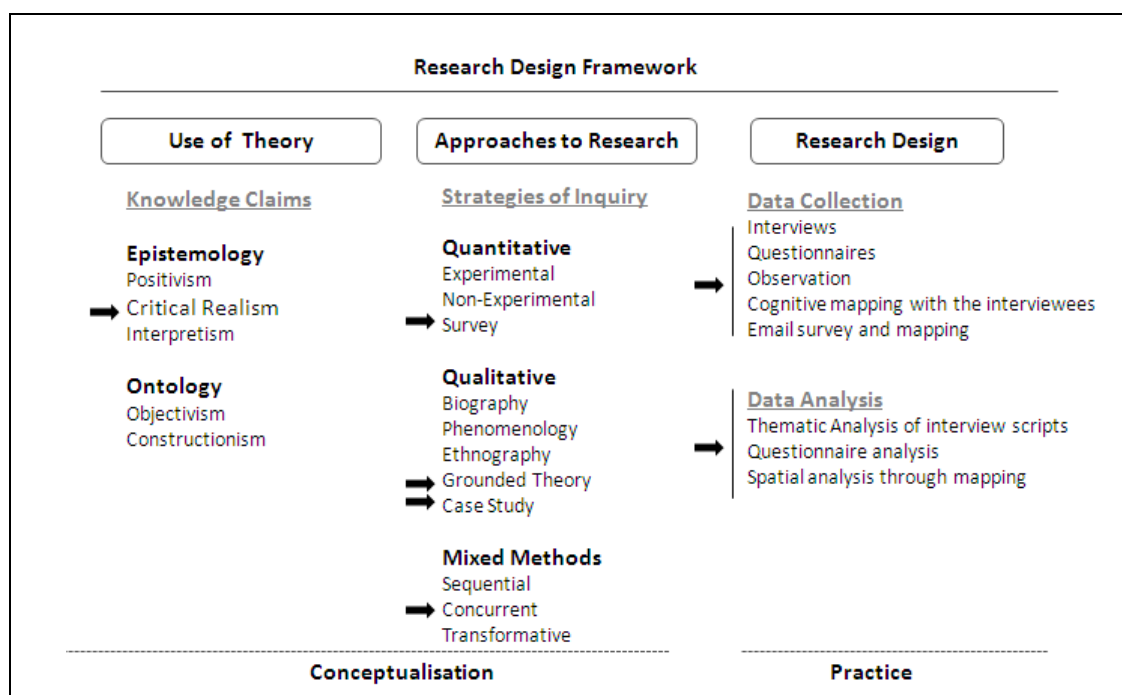


Figure 4.1 Research Design Framework (Adapted from Bryman, 1984 and Creswell, 1997; 2003)

Cross-national Case Study Approach

This research is a *cross-national comparative case study*¹ (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996) conducted in two countries. There are different aspects concerning the necessity, strengths and weaknesses of this type of research; these are briefly summarised below.

A conventional wisdom has gradually emerged about the benefits and pitfalls of cross-national research as discussed by a number of scholars (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996, Mangen, 1999; Masser, 1984; Warwick and Osherson, 1973; Williams, 1984). Some object as this approach involves comparing dissimilar socio-cultural settings while others suggest that cross-national investigations provide a critical approach to understanding the different perspectives of the phenomenon which operates in different contexts.

Masser (1984) outlined the opportunities of cross-national studies for both researchers and practitioners. The first group can benefit from testing the emerging theories under new circumstances and the latter could consider the lessons from other countries' experiences. As well as its benefits, researchers also stressed the problems of cross-cultural research such as "ambiguity, difficulties of interpretation and replication of case study material into the other languages" (Masser, 1984: 145). Hantrais and Mangen (1996) also outlined the main problems that emerge from cross-national studies such as managing the project and getting funding, availability and access to data for comparisons, providing the conceptual links, research parameters and typologies. In addition to these problems, the difficulty of cross-national case study research is also emphasised as it demands more effort compared to single-case national domestic studies (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996; Masser, 1984; Williams, 1984).

Since the 1980s, however, interdisciplinary studies and international collaborations have been encouraged by many different governmental and non-governmental institutions aiming to reach a more critical understanding of the research phenomenon

¹ Øyen (1990 in Harris 1996) suggested other conceptual definitions such as cross-societal, cross-cultural, cross-systematic, and cross-institutional, etc.

through comparisons. At this point it is useful to clarify the approach of this research towards *comparison design* as there are several different ways of comparison (Williams, 1984). Rather than comparison, this study aimed to confront the findings, highlighting the similarities and differences in two countries relating to the relationship between clustering, quality of place and place-making initiatives. At that point Williams (1984) discussed the different versions of comparison as *one-directional* which is about feeding ideas one way towards the author's home country, and *two-directional* which aims to draw comparisons in both directions between the two countries. He also suggested that *non-comparative evaluations* are also part of comparison design.

"Comparison in its broadest sense is the discovering similarities and differences among phenomena. Rather than being a second order activity tacked onto more basic cognitive processes, comparison is central to the very acts of knowing and perceiving" (Warwick and Osherson, 1973:7).

The design of the research focusing on its cross-national component is explained in Figure 4.2. In the following section 4.2 the research methods for data collection and analyses are introduced.

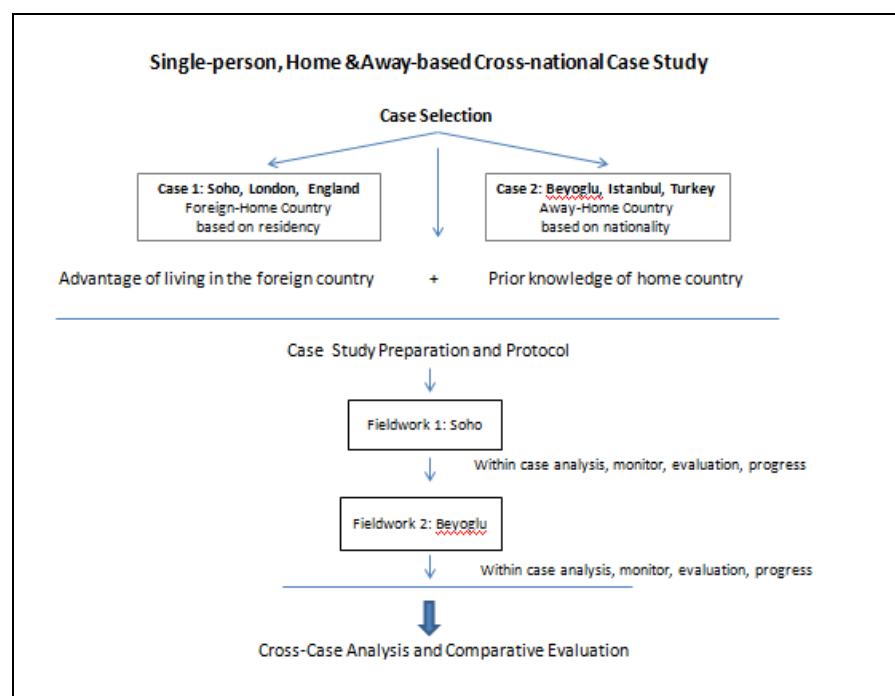


Figure 4.2 Design of Cross-national Case Study (Adapted from Masser, 1994; Williams, 1984)

4.2 RESEARCH METHODS

4.2.1 CASE STUDY SELECTION AND LIMITATIONS

A multiple cross-national case study approach is chosen to compare and explore the clustering phenomenon within two different contexts. Two particular cases are chosen in order to be able to develop a better understanding of the research questions and to provide argument for the discussion. As also Yin (2003) suggested, using the multiple case study approach is more compelling and regarded as more robust to develop the arguments and to ensure the validity, reliability and effectiveness of the research.

The research is conducted in London-Soho and Istanbul-Beyoglu where film companies and people working in this industry are clustered (Figure 4.3). These places are associated with bohemian life and art accommodating many artists and creative industry companies, mainly clusters of companies related to the film industry. Both cases are the locations where film industry companies are located and both have been associated with the film industry since the 1900s as being the initial locations of the film companies. There are similarities in terms of the development processes of the clusters; both developed in an organic fashion without any induced institutional planning and design strategies towards cluster development. However the cases have evolved through different urban processes in terms of urban management and intervention initiatives. It is aimed to understand how these different planning and design considerations affected the location patterns of the existing film industry clusters. Figure 4.3 shows the aerial maps of Soho and Beyoglu with some of the film clusters, main streets and squares.



Figure 4.3 Soho-London and Istanbul-Beyoglu with main squares and streets (Google Earth)

In addition to these main cases, the research also discussed the other film clusters where the companies tend to move to. Therefore these places (Noho area, just near Soho; and Levent and Maslak in the peripheries of Istanbul) are also briefly explained with a particular focus on the factors of de-clustering.

4.2.2 DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

As introduced in the previous section, qualitative and quantitative methods are used to conduct the inquiry of this research. The research is conducted through various data collection techniques such as semi-structured interviews (face to face, telephone, street interviews), questionnaires (online, face to face), observations (structured, unstructured), and cognitive and cluster mapping (Blaikie, 2000). The aim is to acquire a cognitive map from each interviewee, by asking them to draw their own representations. In addition, the locations of the film clusters are mapped. Interviews, questionnaires, cognitive maps and observations helped to analyse the quality of place and place-making process whereas mapping, telephone/email survey and photo-documenting helped to map the film clusters and to collect the data about company profiles. The structure for data collection explaining the aim of each research technique is summarised in Figure 4.4.

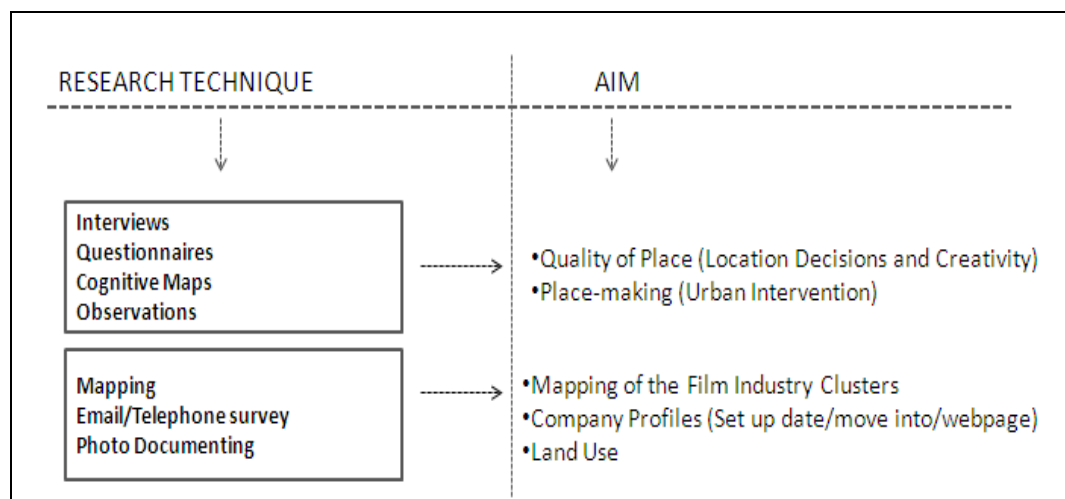


Figure 4.4 The Structure of the Data Collection

For the data analysis three main approaches are used - thematic analysis with data coding (interviews, questionnaires and observations), content analysis with image and text analysis (documents, planning reports, magazines, books, films), and spatial

analysis (the plans, maps, photographs, postcards) (Yin, 2003). As Yin (2003) suggested, the analysis process is a holistic analysis of the cases rather than the embedded analysis for a specific part and aspect. The analysis techniques are shown in Figure 4.5.

The data collection and analysis techniques are formed based on three basic units of analysis; company-based, people-based and place-based, using the rationale of multiple sources of data collection in order to construct the validity (Yin, 2003). The units are creative industry companies, in this case the film industry; creative people working in these film companies, residents, businesses and the key informants; and the urban pattern of the two cases. These various methods helped to get the information from all different target groups that live and work in Soho and Beyoglu. The case study design framework is shown in Figure 4.5.

Case Study Selection	Definition of Case Study	Cross-National Case Study London-Soho and Istanbul-Beyoglu
	The Limits	Film-industry based inner-city creative clusters
	Priorities	Clustering process Quality of place Place-making processes
Data Collection	Source of information	Qualitative data: Interviews, observations, mappings Quantitative data: Reports and questionnaires
	Unit of Analysis	Company: Film companies People: Film people and key informants Place: Soho and Beyoglu
	Sampling Strategy	Company: Companies in/around/out of the cases People: Film people and key informants Place: Soho and creative hotspots in Beyoglu
Data Analysis	Thematic Analysis and Data Coding Spatial Analysis Content Analysis	Historical maps, current plans, postcards, photos Documents, planning appliances, Interviews, questionnaires

Figure 4.5 Case Study Design

Data Collection and Analysis Framework

The analytical framework introduced earlier in Chapter 3 in Table 3.3 guided the data collection preparation of the questionnaires and interview questions. This framework is modified based on the research findings and presented in Chapter 7 as a morphological analysis framework for the quality of place in the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters (see Chapter 7, Table 7.12).

The analysis of the interviews with film people is based on thematic analysis of the interview scripts through data coding which is explained in the Figure 4.6. This

structure is used in the case study in Chapters 5 and 6 when presenting the findings. The analysis of the interviews with key informants is based on the themes explained in Figure 4.6 and the questionnaires are explained in Appendix 2.

CLUSTERING PROCESS					
Interview Identification Number	Why Soho/Beyoglu?	Soho/Beyoglu Image	Advantages/Likes	Disadvantages/Problems	Benefits of clustering
DE-CLUSTERING FACTORS					
Interview Identification Number	Location Change	Why to move out?	Attractions of the new location	Negative issues about the new place	Name of the new location
CREATIVITY					
Interview Identification Number	Sources of creativity	Creativity process	Creativity/Place	Inner-city/Periphery	Technology
NETWORKS					
Interview Identification Number	Links	Local	Global	Film-making	Technology

Figure 4.6 Data Analysis: Thematic Coding

Databases

A database for each of the case studies, Soho and Beyoglu, comprising the profiles of the film companies and key informants, was prepared as part of the case study protocol as suggested by Yin (2003). The databases were used to approach to film companies and key informants (i.e. community leaders, long-standing residents, local authorities, NGOs) and also to map the film clusters. They include the contact details of all the film companies locating in Soho and Beyoglu, such as address, postcodes, telephone and the details of the contact person, and information regarding the company profiles and types which are collected through email/telephone survey (See Appendix 4). The database preparation evolved within the case studies based on the information gathered during the field work and the information that interviewees provided. The final database helped to map the film clusters which are explained in detail in Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4.

4.1 UNDERTAKING THE CASE STUDIES: SOHO AND BEYOGLU

Research Phases

This cross-national case study research commenced in the spring of 2009. Prior to conducting the main case studies, an exploratory study was conducted first in Soho, in March 2009 and then in Beyoglu, in December 2009, to test the reliability and effectiveness of the methods, particularly regarding the interviews. Two interviews with film people were conducted in each case. The first stage of the main case study was conducted in Soho between March and October 2010, and followed by the same study conducted in Beyoglu between November 2010 and February 2011. These research phases are shown in Figure 4.7. As explained previously data collection and data analysis techniques are based on grounded theory which suggests an evolving approach between data collection and data analysis. In this research rather than following sequential steps of data collection and data analysis, the aim was to run both data collection and analysis concurrently, as defined in Figure 4.7.

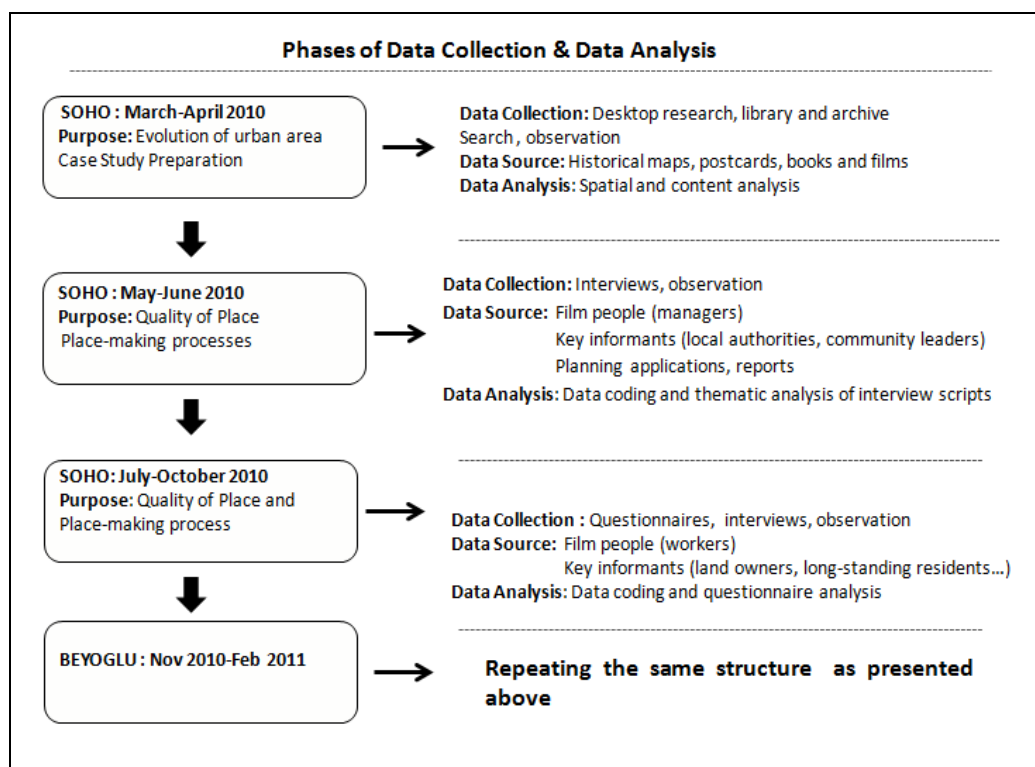


Figure 4.7 Research Phases (Soho and Beyoglu)

In addition to the phases defined in Figure 4.7, following the analysis of the interviews and questionnaires, an email/telephone survey was conducted first in Soho in March 2011, and then in Beyoglu in April 2011. This helped to map the film industry clusters and to understand when the companies started to cluster.

To this point, the research design and the underlying rationale for this choice have been explained. Below, the undertaking of these case studies is explained based on the individual experiences which are very important to understand the way the cases were conducted.

4.1.1 CASE STUDY: SOHO-LONDON

The Soho case study was conducted between March 2010 and October 2010 including the desktop research undertaken in Nottingham and the field work in Soho. The main case study proceeded in three phases as explained previously in Figure 4.7. The first phase is desktop research which aims to explore the dynamics and features of Soho in relation to its spatial characteristics and spatial development process. Historical maps, postcards and planning reports are analysed to explore its dynamics. The second phase explores the main dynamics behind the location decision of creative individuals and film industry companies. People working in these companies, especially the ones who have knowledge of the location decision for the company, are selected, such as managing directors, coordinators and owners, etc. In addition to interviews with film people, face to face semi-structured interviews were conducted with the key informants who are working in governmental and non-governmental organisations and taking part in community initiatives and associations. In the third phase, following the interviews, questionnaires were distributed. The issues raised by the interviews are tested through the questionnaires to understand which of them are more relevant. In the following section the field work experience is explained comprising all these phases and the way it was conducted.

Field Work

Prior to the field work, desktop research was conducted to collect the information about Soho and to prepare the database for further interviews. Following the desktop

research, several trips were made to Soho to explore the area. This stage helped to formulate the further field work. Several daily or overnight trips were made to London during June 2010 especially when an interview appointment was scheduled. In addition, local archives and libraries were visited during these trips in June. However, as there was not an opportunity to stay overnight and spend the whole day, it was not possible to develop an understanding of evening use in Soho, to observe all aspects of Soho life and to meet with the locals. Therefore, the researcher organised to stay in London for three weeks in August 2010 aiming to be in Soho at different times of the day, and week, and weekend. Several face to face scheduled interviews and street interviews (explained below) were conducted and also questionnaires were distributed to the ground floor shops/business. Numerous photographs of the buildings were taken as part of the photo-documenting element of the study and recorded observations were undertaken. One of the key aims was to record all aspects of local daily life in Soho during the researcher's free time. This stay provided the opportunity to meet with local people in the cafes and on the streets; to participate in local festivals, go to the theatres and famous West End shows, operas and jazz clubs; and spend time in the restaurants, bars, clubs and cafes. The researcher joined the community associations such as the Soho Society and the West End Time Bank group and attended the community parties and community meetings such as the executive committee meetings and licencing meetings of the Soho Society. In the autumn of 2010, several daily trips were arranged to London to conduct more interviews, particularly with the key informants (i.e. major land owners, leaders and the members of the community associations, local authorities, etc).

Interviews

Face to face interviews were conducted with the film companies' managers and also with the key informants who are the individuals and organisations involved in the development process of Soho (See Appendix 7-A). Several techniques were used to approach to these people both film people and key informants. Initially, 80 letters were posted to film companies and 20 to key informants. Posting letters did not prove to be a practical method as the response rate was low. Therefore, instead, people

were approached by telephone or by emails. It appeared that contacting the relevant person by email was the best option.

There are 280 film companies located in Soho. All the companies listed in the database were approached via email with the target of securing at least 28 face to face interviews; however, due to some difficulties as explained below, only 12 face to face interviews with the film people working in different film companies were confirmed. As a result, other techniques such as street interviews and telephone interviews were incorporated. In total, 45 interviews (scheduled face to face, street and telephone) with film people were undertaken. As for the key informants, all the possible individuals and organisations related to the development of Soho were contacted. Most of them agreed to be interviewed; only two refused. In addition, more contacts were made with the key informants via the snowball effect of recommendation particularly through the people who the researcher met during the three weeks she lived in Soho. In total 13 interviews with key informants were secured (Table 4.1).

In selecting the interviewees (the film people), no sampling strategy was followed concerning the company types and the professions of the participants; rather, a practical approach was adopted and interviews were scheduled with anyone who accepted the request to be interviewed.

The interviews were conducted in their offices, at the cafes in Soho or at their homes. The shortest interview was around 30 minutes and the longest one was four hours. Permission was asked to record the interviews, and all but one of the interviewees agreed. The researcher also took some photographs of their offices and homes, although again, not all granted their permission for her to do so. One of the aims was to ask the interviewees to draw a representation of their understanding of Soho; however, only seven cognitive maps were collected from the film people and five from the key informants.

After encountering some difficulties with the interviews regarding the appointments and scheduling process, alternative techniques such as telephone interview and street interviews were developed. Street interviews were based on a fast and instant conversation with the people working in the film companies. The researcher kept an

eye on the people waiting by, standing near or entering the building or going out of the office, or people smoking in front of these companies. Assuming they were working in these companies, the researcher approached them asking them if that was the case and whether they were interested in a quick chat about Soho. Some ignored the request; some accepted. They were asked about their likes and disliked about being in Soho. In total 19 interviews with these people working in film companies were secured. Additionally, four short talks were realised with two filmmakers, with a famous film director and with a film artist who the researcher met in Soho. In addition to these film people, the researcher approached other people on the streets, in the cafes, and in the squares and talked with them about Soho. Forty nine people from different professions including seven designers and artists were contacted. Overall, 68 street interviews were achieved (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 The Summary of Data Collection for Interviews and Questionnaires (Soho)

Case Study 1: Soho-London								
March- November 2010	RESEARCH METHOD							
	Face to face Interview		Telephone Interviews	Street Interviews	Cognitive Maps		Questionnaires	
Research Participants	Target	Obtained	Obtained	Obtained	Target	Obtained	Target	Obtained
Film Companies	28	12	14	19	12	7	74	44
Key Informants	15	13	0	0	13	5	98	42
Residents	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Business	0	0	0	0	0	0	91	22
Others	0	0	0	49*	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	37	25	14	68	25	12	263	108

OTHERS*

4 Film-related: Filmmakers, film director and film artist

7 Designers: Industrial designers, photographer, graphic designer, music company worker, fashion designer, interior designer

38 General: Art student, waitress, cashier, tourist, unemployed artists, bookshop seller, policeman, market trader, visitor, professor, chef, sex worker, pimp, restaurant owner, homeless, waiter, security, receptionist, shop assistant, Samaritans' receptionist, shop owner, barmen, black gay man, outlet agency, Karishna, Ambulance bike, Vintage shop sellers, crossrail workers, sex shop worker, bar security

Questionnaires

The experience of Soho life and the interviews pointed out that its village character and community life contributes to its creative environment. This was the reason why, in addition to the film industry, perceptions of the residents and businesses also became the subject of research. The residents were contacted via email, and the businesses located on the ground floors were approached in person. Two types of questionnaires were organised; an online one for film personnel working in these companies and for the residents; and a face to face version for the ground floor shops, cafes, galleries and other ground floor premises located in Soho. After setting out the online questionnaire for film companies the same question structure was used for the face to face questionnaires.

The targets considering the number of the research participants were identified according to the table provided by Israel (2009). There are 280 film companies located in Soho (Field work); 4000 people are living in Soho (Estimated population by 2009) (Broker, 2011). The number of the business in the area is 1005 (See Chapter 5.2.2). Based on this population ranges and the table given by Israel (2009), the targets for each three group is defined as 74, 98 and 91 with $\pm 10\%$ precision levels (See Appendix 1-A).

In terms of contacting with the film people, the survey link was emailed to the people who were interviewed. They were asked to take part in the survey and forward the link to the other people working in the company. The link was also emailed to the companies listed in the database and to film people who the researcher met during street interviews with film people. As for the residents, the target was 98 residents with $\pm 10\%$ precision levels (Israel, 2009). The link that was generated through the online survey was emailed to the people that the researcher met during her Soho field trip, and who she knew to be Soho residents. In addition, in order to contact the residents, three different community associations were asked to forward the link to their members such as the West End Time Bank (nearly 80 members), the Soho Housing Association (with 700 members) and the Soho Society (100 members) of

which their members are residents of Soho. The Soho Society also placed the link on their website (Figure 4.8).

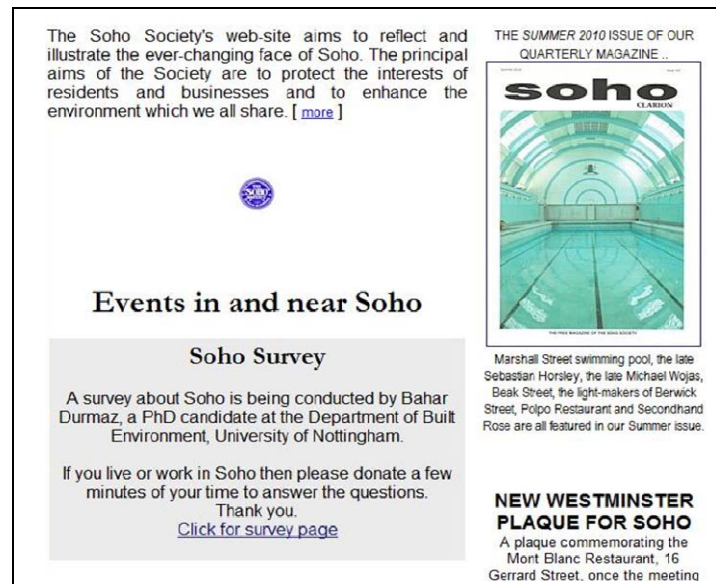


Figure 4.8 Soho Society Website and Soho Survey

The Survey Monkey online tool was used to conduct the questionnaires; this is a web page developed to organise online surveys (Figure 4.9). The questionnaire consists of 10 questions (See Appendix 1). It is an effective tool when the emails of the research participants are known. Williams (2003: 95) stated that “web-or email-based questionnaires are more popular and widely used due to its speed, relative cheapness (no interviews needed), and the absence of interviewer bias and data entry errors”. However, he also stated the disadvantages of using internet techniques as they can only be used to survey a fairly narrow socio-economic group (those who can afford or have internet access). Williams (2003) also critiqued this type of research as market research-oriented rather than intellectual-academic oriented studies.

The online survey tool was used for those who could be contacted via email. However, for the businesses located on the ground floors (shops, cafes, restaurants, art galleries, etc), face to face questionnaires were conducted. These were either self-administrated, or the researcher helped participants to fill them out.

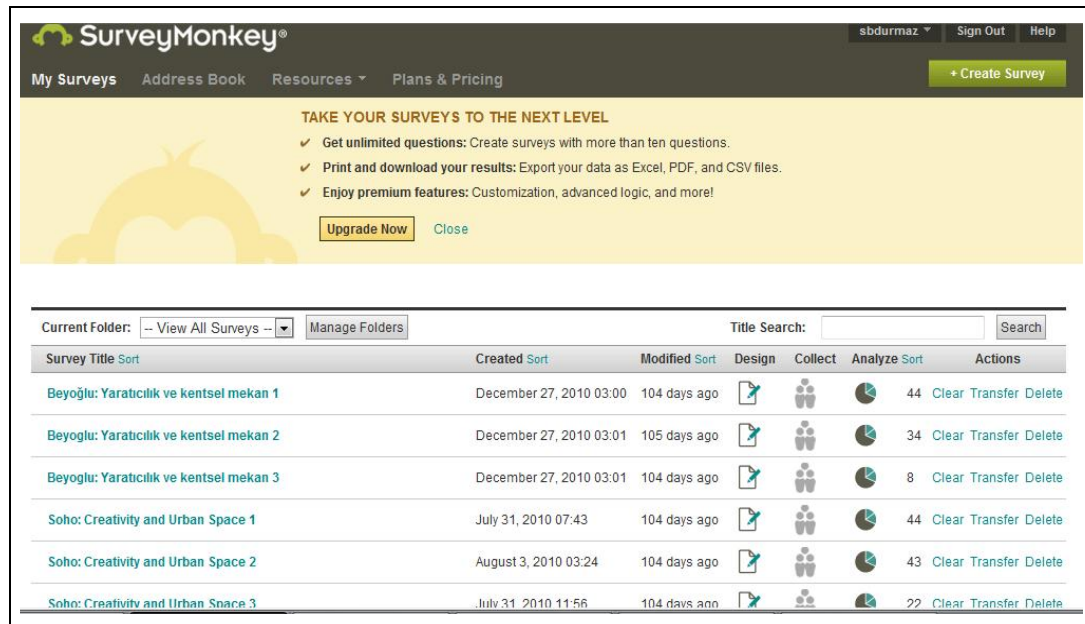


Figure 4.9 Survey Monkey Website (Soho and Beyoğlu)

Observations

As explained in Figure 4.7, observations were part of the overall process integrated with each research phase. Every time the researcher went to Soho she took photos, wandered around the streets, and just spent time people-watching, taking notes and sketching and talking to passers-by. Overall, 65 days were spent in Soho from March 2009 to the end of December 2011. In addition to these unstructured observations, several structured observations were conducted such as walking the predefined routes², cycling and running around the boundaries of Soho and recording some of the important experiences. Systematically, the pictures of all of the buildings were taken for photo-documenting, and observations were recorded as visual sources of information (Rose, 2001). Some of the specific events and activities that the researcher came across were recorded. Additionally, video and sound recordings were undertaken at the intersection of the main nodes³ for both daytime and evening uses. The recordings lasted for 30 seconds which is equal to the period needed to complete a 360s degree gyrating. This helped to compile an archive of Soho buildings and uses to refer back when needed to during the data analyses.

2 A type: Circle tours around Soho B type: Walking along the streets upside and down C type: Random cross-sectional walks following the people who seemed like artists or working in the film industry.

3 Oxford, Piccadilly and Cambridge Circuses, Tottenham Court Road, Old Compton Street junctions and Wardour Street junctions, Soho Square and Golden Square

Soho Database and Cluster Mapping

A database was prepared using the Knowledge Online Database⁴ and the Westminster Business Directory, and through an internet search using the information of companies' web pages. Other secondary sources such as IMDB (Internet Movie Database), UK Screening Online and Yellow Pages helped the researcher to double check some of the information and to add the companies which are not listed in Knowledge Online. This database proved extremely helpful for contacting interviewees, and also to map the companies in Soho and Noho (see Appendix 7). The information was acquired from 124 companies located in Soho via interviews, email, online survey or telephone contacts. In addition to Soho-based companies, three companies were interviewed located in Noho and two telephone interviews were contacted with the companies that had moved away from Soho (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Total Number of Contacted Film Companies in Soho

Contact Types		SOHO	NOHO
Direct Contact	Email Survey	41	0
	Telephone Survey	60	0
	Telephone Interview	14*	0
	Face to Face Interview	9	3
	Online Questionnaires (film only)	44	0
Total Number of direct		124**	3
Indirect Contact	WBD***	54	38
	Web Page	28	0

* In addition to this number two companies were contacted locating outside W1

**It is based on the total number of direct contacts as some of the companies were contacted via several methods.

***WBD: Westminster Business Directory, 2010

4 Knowledge Online is the main source of the film, video and TV industry comprising 18,400 companies and crew working across the UK. To limit the search, the companies located in Greater London were listed (just the ones with the 20 telephone code) and then out of them the ones located within the W1 postal code coverage were listed. An excel list was set up using the name, address, and type of the companies. Using the excel list, the companies located in Soho, which comprised W1B, W1D, W1F and W1V postcodes, were excluded (Soho Society, 2011). Then, each company was searched for on the web to check if there had been any change in their location and the contact details were updated accordingly. This was repeated for the other groups located outside of Soho but within the W1 area (W1A, W1B, W1C, W1G, W1H, W1J, W1K, W1P, W1S, W1T, W1U, and W1W) (Knowledge Online, 2011).

Email and Telephone Survey

A survey was conducted to find out when the companies started to cluster in Soho and to get the basic information about the company profiles. Using the database an email was sent to all the companies, selecting the relevant person, and asking four very simple questions⁵ about the companies⁶. Some of them were called back at a later date. Consequently only 41 of them replied via email and in total, 74 people responded by telephone. Fourteen of these conversations were longer and they were willing to give more information. The researcher also had a talk with two people whose companies had moved outside Soho. Consequently, 115 responses were received for the email and telephone survey (Table 4.2). The indirect sources (82 in total) which were gained through the Westminster Business Directory and web pages of the companies were also helpful in getting the information about set-up date, move date into Soho, employee band or links with other countries.

Mapping

This database helped to map the film companies located in the Soho and Noho areas. The Edina Digimap collection was used to download the base map. This is an online mapping service delivering maps and data from the Ordnance Survey. Firstly, all the companies were numbered with different identification numbers (ID) in the database. Secondly, Google Earth was used to find the location of the company through typing postcodes, and after getting an idea of where the company is located; each company was marked on the base map using AutoCAD. Four categories were used - production, post-production, distribution and the mixed category - for the ones who operate within more than one of these categories.

⁵ When was the company set up?

When did the company move into Soho?

How many people work in the company?

Do you have international links? If yes, which countries?

⁶ Before deciding on the best way to approach the research, researcher did a test. 10 companies were called and also 10 emails were sent to different companies to see which method is more effective and less time consuming. Although some of them replied on the phone, it appeared that emailing was a better option as they stated that they were busy when they were called.

4.1.2 CASE STUDY: BEYOGLU-ISTANBUL

After conducting and analysing the Soho data, the Beyoglu case was prepared beginning from November 2010, and the study was conducted until February 2011. Due to the limited resources and time constraints, it was not possible to spend as much time in Beyoglu as was spent in Soho; a total of 20 days compared to 65 days in Soho. The researcher visited Beyoglu twice in 2009; first for the exploratory study in March 2009 and the second time in November 2009, to get to know the site and to test some of the techniques. While conducting the main case study the researcher stayed in Beyoglu for just over two weeks in December 2010 and January 2011 (a total of 20 days). To undertake the preparation phase, as the researcher lives in Nottingham, the UK, online communication tools such as Skype and emails were used to make the appointments with the interviewees prior to the field work.

Interviews

A total of 39 face to face interviews were conducted with film companies located in Beyoglu and in other sub-centres, and also with the key informants as they were conducted in Soho. Of these 39 interviews, 31 of them were with film people, of whom 28 work in the companies located in Beyoglu and three work in the companies which moved out of Beyoglu⁷. Twenty nine of them were face to face recorded interviews and two were telephone interviews through Skype. Most of the interviews were conducted in the participants' offices and only seven of the interviews were conducted in the nearby cafes, restaurants or in the offices of related cinema associations. The interviewees were the professionals who were involved in the different stages of film making such as filmmakers, directors, screenwriters, actors, theatre artists, film distributors, cinema managers, post-production supervisors, editors, sound designers, projectionists and a sound engineer, film importers, manager of the companies, accountants and costume designers. The interviews took around one hour each. One

⁷ One is in the historical peninsula (Sultan Ahmet), one is in the new business district, Levent-Balmumcu, and the other is located in Sisli-Mecidiyekoy.

of the interviews took four hours⁸, where the researcher was invited to see a big film archive and an old sound recording studio in Mecidiyekoy. The researcher also attended a film premier in one of the shopping malls near Levent; she was invited to this by one of the film company managers interviewed. Only four of the interviewees were women, while the majority, 27, were men. Most of them were around 50 years old, except for five of them who were in their late 30s. The interviews were recorded and conducted in parallel with note-taking.

The second group interviewed comprised the people involved in the planning process of Beyoglu or the people who have knowledge about the urban development process of the area. Overall, eight people⁹ were interviewed as some of the key informants. Six were women in their late 40s and only two of them were men; one was in his late 40s and the other one was around 60. The interviews were conducted in the institutions they worked in or in the cafes nearby. The interviews were recorded (See Appendix 7b for a detailed contact list). The data collected are summarised in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 The Summary of Data Collection for Interviews and Questionnaires (Beyoglu)

Case Study 2: Beyoglu				
March 2009 December 2010-January 2011	Data Collection Technique			
	Face to face Interviews	Street Interviews	Cognitive Maps	Questionnaires
Film Companies	29 +(2 Skype)	0	13	43
Key Informants	8	0	1	34
Residents	0	1	0	
Business	0	0	0	8
Others*	0	7	0	0
TOTAL CONTACT	39	8	14	85

*OTHERS: A cafe manager, two real estate developers, a waitress, a sculptor, a street vendor, a journalist, a sahhaf¹⁰, a construction manager, a long-standing resident, and a street pumper.

⁸ The long-standing projectionist who has the knowledge of the film industry gave detailed information about the past and current structure of the film industry.

⁹ A planner in the municipality, a facilitator in Cihangir Neighbourhood Association, two muhtars, a long-lasting resident who is also an academican in an Art Faculty and the coordinator of the Creative Cities Institute, the director of Istanbul Film Festival, and the programme coordinator of the Istanbul Film Festival and the chair of Beyder (Beyoglu Entertainment Business Association).

¹⁰ A person who sells old-second hand books.

Concerning the targeting, a particular strategy was not developed for the interviews, as the aim was to apply snowballing technique. Prior to the field work, all the film companies in Beyoglu were contacted by referring to the database and other key informants. In addition, further appointments were arranged during the field work with the snowball effect of recommendation. The confidence of being at home and being able to use native language had a positive effect on conducting the interviews. As a result, more interviews than expected were conducted in a much shorter time than the time spent in Soho. In total 47 interviews were conducted with film people, key informants and also with people who were met on the streets.

Questionnaires

An online survey was conducted with film people working in Beyoglu; as well as with residents and businesses¹¹. In total, 85 people participated in the questionnaire. Of these, 43 were film people¹² working all around Beyoglu. For residents, the researcher approached people using the Cihangir Neighbourhood Association's membership list which comprises the residents of Cihangir. Following an interview with the facilitator, the emails of the members were requested. The survey link was emailed of the Association members who live in Cihangir, which is one of the neighbourhoods of Beyoglu. In addition, some people who the researcher met during the field work took part in the survey. In total, 34 responses were gathered from people with different professions¹³. Concerning the businesses located on the ground floors, the questionnaire was conducted during the field work phase. Only eight responses were collected due to the limited time and resources.

¹¹ Residents and businesses were the people living and working in Cihangir, one of the neighbourhoods of Beyoglu.

¹² Documentary filmmaker, TV programmer, producer, director, producer, art director, lighting technician, handyman, director/producer, distributor, assistant director, director, costume provider, subtitle company manager, general coordinator, actress, screenwriter, cinema manager, producer, accountant, producer, international relation manager, secretary, screenwriter/producer, sound designer, director, producer, financial manager/accountant, advertisement and public relations manager.

¹³ Three journalists, four retired housewives, an industrial engineer, three architects, a consultant, a physical therapist, three business managers, an artist, an editor, a graphical designer, a teacher/photographer, two pharmacists, an actor, a screenwriter, a painter, an editor, a food market worker, a NGO facilitator, a sah haf/play writer, a stage designer/costume designer, a psychological consultant, a musician, and an academician.

Beyoglu Database and Cluster Mapping

The database was used to approach people for interviews and to map the locations of the companies in Beyoglu. As shown in Table 4.4, the information was gathered from different sources and then cross-checked for accuracy through web searching. Some of the companies appear in more than one of these lists provided by the different cinema unions and web pages. The address information was also checked in the Yellow Pages and through the Culture Inventory of Istanbul web page (Inventory of Culture Economics, 2010). The number of the film companies located in Beyoglu and Istanbul are shown in Table 4.4 based on these different sources, and are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.2.

Table 4.4 Number of Companies in Istanbul and Beyoglu as Documented in Different Databases

DATABASE SOURCES	ISTANBUL	BEYOGLU		ISTANBUL	BEYOGLU
Cineturk (2006)	234	97	Film Production	139	60
			Documentary production	19	8
			Post Production	18	4
			Distribution	27	13
			Equipment Hiring	12	3
			Cast Agencies	19	9
SE-SAM* (2010)	128	43			
Turkish Film Council (2010)	94	36			
Gezici Filmler (2010)	201	82	Production	140	62
			Post Production	7	1
			Distribution	40	14
			Equipment Hiring	14	3
Cilingir (2011)	211	NA			
RYD **(2011)	36	7	Commercial Production		

* Turkish Cinematic Production Owners' Union

** Turkish Advertising Producers' Association

***The information in the table overlaps as some of the companies exist in more than one database

In addition to these findings explained in Table 4.4 , there are two other research findings regarding the number of the companies locating in Beyoglu and also in Istanbul. The findings of these research studies are different from each other in terms of the number of the companies located in Istanbul. One of them is a PhD research study in Urban Planning and the other one is a Cultural Inventory of Istanbul aiming to

document the Cultural Heritage and all Cultural Industries of Istanbul¹⁴. The research findings of the latter indicate that there are 1503¹⁵ film companies located all around Istanbul, but that only 303 of them are located in Beyoglu with 20% (Inventory of Culture Economics, 2010). However Ozkan's (2009) research indicated that there are 619 companies in Istanbul, and 172 of them (28%) are located in Beyoglu. The findings of these two research studies are shown in Table 4.5. This research found that there are 138 companies operating in the core sector. If the findings of Ozkan (2009) for sub-sector values are borrowed, then it is possible to claim that there are 214 companies, business and related sectors located in Beyoglu, which make up 35% of all the sectors located in Istanbul.

Table 4.5 Number of the Film Companies in Istanbul and Beyoglu (Culture Economic Inventory of Istanbul, 2010; Ozkan, 2009)

Other Research	ISTANBUL			BEYOGLU			
	Core Sector*	Sub-Sector**	All Istanbul	Core Sector	Sub-Sector	All	% of All Istanbul
Ozkan's PhD research (2009)	301	318	619	96	76	172	28
Culture Inventory of Economic Istanbul (2010)	NA	NA	1503	NA	NA	303	20
This research's findings	NA	NA	NA	138	76***	214	35

***Core sector:** Production (Feature film, TV series, commercial), post-production and studios, distribution, and cinema management/exhibition.

****Sub-sector:** TV Channels, advertisement agents, cinema/film universities, private cinema schools, cinema associations, and other ancillary industry.

***Ozkan's (2009) research findings for the sub-sector values (76) is used.

****This table is based on Tables 4.21 and 4.28 presented in Ozkan's (2009) research

Mapping the film clusters

The mapping technique was applied (as in the Soho case) through AutoCAD and Google Earth; however, there were a number of differences. In the case of the base

¹⁴ The Istanbul Cultural Heritage and Cultural Economy research project is conducted by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Turkish Academy of Sciences. It involves music, industrial design, film industry, visual art performance art, libraries, architecture, fashion, jewellery design, museums and advertisement industries located in Istanbul.

¹⁵ The information involves all the companies registered in the database of the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul. All of the companies registered under the title of "591100- Production of feature films, videos, TV programs and TV commercials" are included in the database.

map, the digital version of the base map was obtained from Beyoglu Municipality through personal contact whereas the Soho map was obtained from an online source (Edina Digimap). Istanbul also has a different address/postcode system. As the postcode system does not give detailed information about the location of the buildings at street level, the city guide¹⁶ tool was used to find the addresses of the offices using the street and door number. This process was much easier to apply in Soho due to the systematic postcode system. In this sense the city guide tool helped the researcher to figure out where the company was located. Following this, the location of the company was marked on the AutoCad base map.

The same technique and the same questions were used as applied in Soho when conducting the email survey to obtain the information about the company profiles. Eight seven companies¹⁷ were contacted via email; however, only 13 responded. The email survey did not prove as effective as it was in the Soho case due to the low response levels.

4.1.3 EVALUATION AND THE LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODS

Several different methods are used in this research to understand the complexities of each case. Although the methodology applied is the same for each case, some minor changes were made when conducting the study in Beyoglu, due to certain socio-cultural differences and time limitations. These issues are summarised in Table 4.6. The limitation of each research technique is discussed below.

There are differences in terms of the time period spent on each case. The Soho case study took nearly six months whereas the Beyoglu study took around three months as time was limited. Despite the shorter time period, the data collection was mostly completed as aimed except for the questionnaires. The previous experience of Soho also was helpful and eventually the second case study was managed in a shorter period of time than the first one using the experience that gained by adapting the lessons from Soho with minor changes. Besides as Beyoglu is located in the away-

¹⁶ City Guide: <http://sehirrehberi.ibb.gov.tr/map.aspx>

¹⁷ Fifty five emails involving the four questions and online survey link; 32 emails just involving the online survey link

home country, the researcher could approach the sources easily due to the familiarity with the place and the advantage of being able to use native language.

Table 4.6 Non-native, Single Person, Bilateral, Cross-national Case Study (Adapted from Masser, 1984; Williams, 1984)

Cases	Language	Difficulties	Advantages
Case 1: Soho-London Current Residency	Non-Native: English	-Foreign language -A few background knowledge of the context	-Flexibility due to the residency -Accessing data -Management of the research & - scheduling the appointment -Systematic approach - Digital Data: Online database, map resources -Easier to conduct online survey -Street interviews
Case 2: Beyoglu- Istanbul	Native: Turkish	-Accessing Data -Replication& translation of case study material -Timing and scheduling the appointments	-Native language -Good background knowledge -Willingness of the participants to give information and to learn about Soho -Snowballing technique

When conducting the case study in Beyoglu, a less formal approach was adapted than it was done in Soho. In Soho, researcher was more formal and the interviews were more structured. Working more informally and being less structured were more effective approaches in Istanbul. It was also easier to conduct the interviews and to explain to people about the research as this was done in the researcher's native language, Turkish. Besides, the participants were very interested in what was done in Soho and wanted to know more about Soho film clusters and to compare them with Beyoglu, and consequently longer, more in-depth dialogues were held with the interviewees.

The face to face interviews were very helpful in terms of getting people's understanding of Soho and Beyoglu and seeing the office spaces they worked in. The interviewees provided valuable in-depth information as well as suggesting further contacts. In addition, it was very important to listen to their personal stories related to Soho and Beyoglu. Despite these advantages, there were many difficulties about face to face interviews in terms of approaching people, scheduling the appointments, choosing the appropriate communication style and also some other ethical issues related to the recording of interviews. The processes involved in preparing and

conducting the face to face interviews took a long time. In many cases it proved difficult to identify and make contact with the appropriate person and schedule the meeting date. As these people were busy they preferred simple and less time-consuming methods. Particularly in Soho, most of the people who were contacted via telephone asked if there was a survey that they could complete in their spare time and they stated that a survey would be easier and quicker for them.

Another difficulty related to arranging the tone and the speed of the interview. As time was limited, it was difficult to cover all the issues without having a long-drawn-out conversation. Sometimes the interviewee wanted to give too much information, in which case action was necessary to draw attention back to the main topic in question.

These face to face, scheduled interviews were helpful in terms of acquiring the cognitive maps, where the interviewees were asked to draw their images and perceptions of Soho and Beyoglu; however not many agreed to draw a cognitive map, or they found it difficult to express their perceptions through drawing. Sometimes, the researcher decided not to ask, as some of the participants appeared unwilling to even continue the interviews.

One point also needs to be highlighted here which is related to the selection of the interviewees, in particular the film people. As stated above, no sampling strategy was followed in the selection of the professions and company types (i.e. production, post-production, distribution and exhibition) they worked in. The aim was to interview the managers/directors of the companies who have the knowledge of the specifics of their company's location decision. In both cases the same strategy was applied; however, some differences were noted within these people's profiles. Although they were the managers of the companies in both cases, the occupations of the film people interviewed turned out to be different, which also might have affected the data analysis.

In Beyoglu some of the directors/managers of the companies were also the screenwriters, directors or people engaged in creative production (i.e. directors, screen writers, production designers, sound designers, etc), and mainly left-wing, intellectual-oriented, art-oriented people as well as some business-oriented people.

In Soho, on the other hand, none of the interviewees stated that they were also involved in directing, or writing the plot except one who is involved in cinema education and organisation of a film festival. This might have affected the responses related specifically to the sources of creativity and benefits of clustering. Although, initially, sampling was not the aim of the selection of the interviewees, if a sampling of professions and company types was applied, it would have provided an understanding of the locational tendencies depending on the company types and different professions.

Street interviews have advantages in terms of getting information and making contacts quickly. They are an effective and quick way to contact people, and make further contacts. People's way of talking and even facial expressions was helpful to get an idea of their understanding of Soho. They just summarised what they thought with very short sentences. Compared with the face to face interviews, street interviews are less time consuming. There is no need to establish prior contact or set up the meeting time and place. They also provide the opportunity to get information about the building, its relation with the street and the way people use it.

Despite the method being quick and easy, as people are often in a hurry, or enjoying their smoking/coffee break, it is difficult to get them to agree to talk and to focus on the conversation. Another difficulty is related to being a sole researcher. It is not possible to do everything at the same time such as approaching the people, holding the field study material, balancing the tone of the conversation, a trying to voice-record responses, and take handwritten notes. It would have been useful to photograph these interviews to record each interaction in its context but unfortunately this was not possible. There are also issues in terms of feeling unsafe. As those you approach do not know you, sometimes they appeared awkward; and on some occasions, the researcher felt unsafe.

On the other hand, the researcher did not have the chance to meet with film people on the streets in Beyoglu. It was difficult to identify film people within the crowd on the streets. In Soho, these people had been more visible and it was easier to recognise whether they were working in these companies or not. The film companies were also

more visible in Soho, particularly the big companies located on the ground floors of the offices or residential units. The direct relationship with the street and offices also made it easier to make contact with these people as they hang around the buildings on the pavements. In Istanbul, as they were dispersed over in a wider area, it was difficult to differentiate the film companies.

Another factor that had an effect on the way street interviews were conducted in Soho was the smoking ban in Britain. The offices in Istanbul which were visited seemed less institutionalised and people were smoking inside their offices. As it was difficult to differentiate which ones were film companies, the researcher also did not meet anyone in front of the offices. Besides, as they can smoke in their offices, people do not go outside to do so. In Soho, however, as it is forbidden to smoke inside, people usually go out and stand for a short period in front of their office entrances, thus making it easier to identify film people in the streets in Soho than in Beyoglu.

Several street interviews were conducted in Soho but not many in Beyoglu although it was in the researcher's home country. This is mostly related to the clustering effect, i.e., critical mass, density and visibility of the companies and the smoking ban in the UK. It is possible to claim that even the difference in conducting the street interviews showed the effect of clustering on the application of the research methods.

There are some problems encountered with the use of *questionnaires*, where the aim was to use them as a complementary technique to the qualitative component of the research; as Hantrais and Mangen (1996:115) suggested "to round off the attempt to obtain a sensitive and multi-dimensional perspective of the subject under inquiry". However some weaknesses were noted regarding the sampling size, sampling techniques and the use of online survey tools. In both cases, the researcher could not get the targeted responses. Eventually the number of participants was not big enough to provide sufficient data for statistical analysis. Instead, they helped to give an idea about the inclination of people towards their decisions.

The *online questionnaire* is an easy and fast way to make contacts. It is a good tool if the email of the contacts is known and if it is possible to control the participant groups. Although this seemed to be an efficient and practical way of reaching people, it is

important to highlight here that this approach has some potential threats relating to homogenisation of the responses, as the people's responses may be generated through a specific interest or particular inclination, if they are members of an association, institution or community group. In addition, those who responded may have more awareness of or interest in Soho and Beyoglu and thus be more willing to take part in the survey. This may have introduced biases in the selection of the respondents.

In terms of the *questions posed within the questionnaires*, some sets of questions could have been included such as questions exploring the relationship between inter-company relationships, the nature of their daily meetings processes, their interactions, and the places where they meet to reveal the frequency of place usage such as office, café, home office, outside the office or through online media.

Preparation of databases was based on several sources as there was not one list that included the companies in their entirety. In both Soho and Beyoglu it was difficult to obtain the whole list from a single source. As the aim was to include all the companies located in these places, different sources of information were double checked. This was one of the difficulties experienced in trying to compile a robust list.

It is very difficult to conduct structured *observations* in busy inner city neighbourhoods like Soho and Beyoglu, especially if the research is single-person-administered. The researcher attempted to carry out structured and recorded observations; however, some problems were experienced related to the difficulties of observing and recording at the same time. It was difficult to track the people, to map, to take notes of what was seen, heard, felt and touched, and to take pictures or videos simultaneously. These structured and recorded observations could not be analysed systematically in the course of the thesis; however they were used during the analysis process when needed. Rather than being the primary source for data analysis, these visual data are used when necessary. Particularly in the case of Soho, the sound recordings, videos and photo-documenting guided the writing-up and analysis process when information was needed about the streets and the buildings.

The experience of Soho's daily life provided the opportunity of becoming involved in local life and meeting with local people living and working in Soho. The most important thing in that it enables a researcher to get an in-depth understanding of a place, and to learn how it works, with all its various dynamics. Inspired by Jane Jacob's method of direct, close observation based on personal *urban experience* (Hospers and Dalm, 2005; Jacobs 1961), this approach lead to a better in-depth understanding of what is happening in the urban life of Soho. Walking, wandering around, having friends living and working in the area, and living in the area for a while, following Jacob's (1961) approach, is the best way to capture the story; the essence of the place. In this sense Jacob's (1961) method towards explicating urban life, through her multi-dimensional intertwinement of urban place, also can be applied to creativity research.

Initially the research is designed based on qualitative face to face interviews with film people and key informants. Through the case study, the research is expanded by involving the residents and businesses; by conducting questionnaires and street interviews, carrying out email and telephone surveys and mapping the creative clusters. All these different data collection techniques helped to juxtapose the numerous dimensions of the cases. Although predominantly this is a qualitative research in terms of combining this range of techniques, it can be also termed a mixed method study as it involves quantitative techniques, i.e. questionnaires.

To conclude, the research can be classified as an exploratory cross-national case study research based on the mixed method approach. The shortcomings and the weaknesses of the methodology are revisited in Chapter 8, focusing on the cross-national nature of the research. The following section presents the findings from the Soho case study discussing the relationships between clustering, quality of place and place-making processes introduced in Chapters 2 and 3.

CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY: SOHO-LONDON

This Chapter is based on the findings of a case study undertaken in Soho-London which is particularly famous for its relation to the film industry, art and bohemia. It is located in the central London, West End Ward of the City of Westminster to the north of the River Thames. This Chapter briefly presents the evolution of the area, the emergence of the film industry in Soho and the clustering process focusing on the factors on the expansion and contraction of clusters as well as the place-making process in the area.

Soho is a one square mile multicultural residential area of central London, a home to commerce, culture and entertainment as well as creative industries and creative people. It is bounded by Oxford Street, Regent Street, Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road. Mort (1995: 475) stated that “these boundaries functioned not only as physical extremities; they also carried strong symbolic resonances about the limits of Soho's cultural influence”. The location of Soho in London and an aerial image are shown in Figure 5.1.

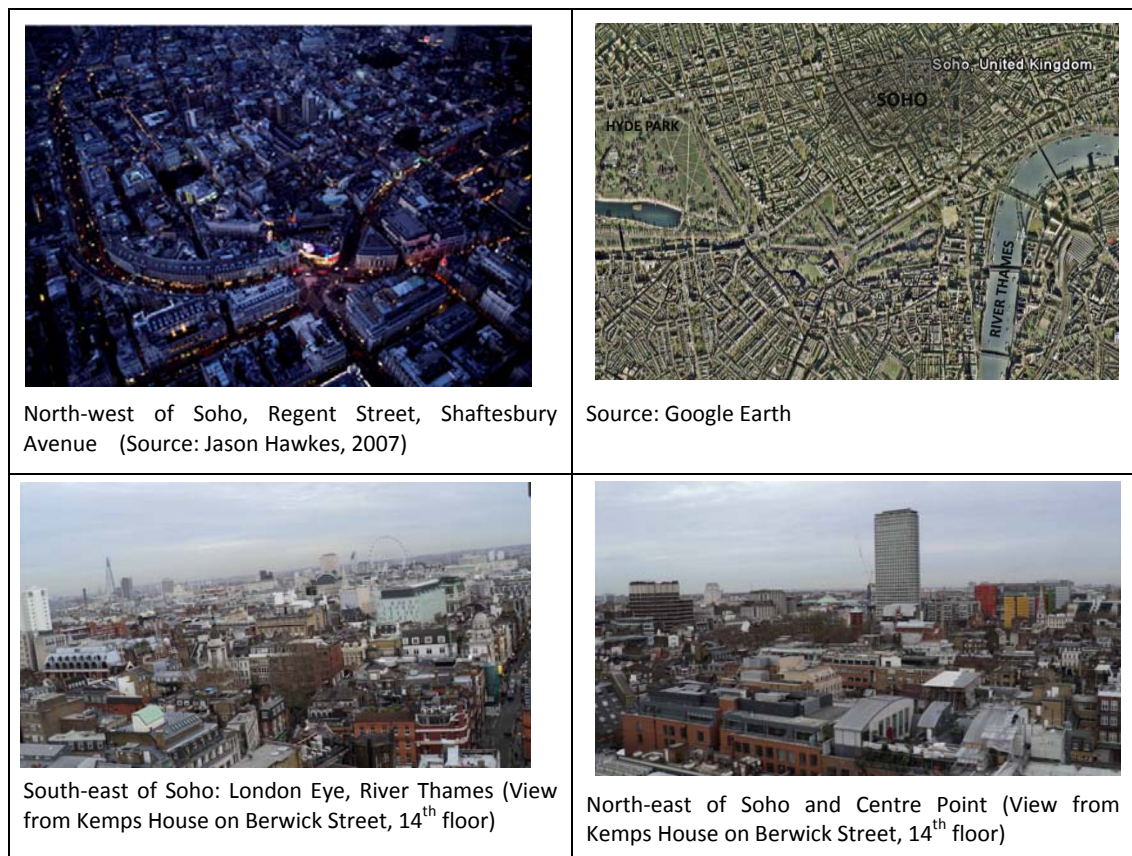


Figure 5.1 Location of Soho in London

Soho has established cultural venues with many theatres, cinemas and entertainment venues like jazz clubs, dance halls and night-clubs. It has a vibrant, tolerant cosmopolitan feel from gay-friendly places to sex shops, brothels next to local shops, family-run restaurants and cafes, nursery schools with and other residential, visitor and business related uses. It is also associated with creative industries hosting numerous companies and shops related to music, fashion, film and the advertising industry. This juxtaposition of residential community and film community living and working in a one square mile area makes Soho an important urban place in relation to creativity as introduced in Chapter 2. The snapshots of the two main streets, Old Compton (east-west direction) and Frith Street (north-west direction), are shown in Figure 5.2.



Figure 5.2 Soho, London

Soho is not a strategically planned district; it has gradually evolved through time intertwining with its social life. It has its own development patterns and dynamics that are closely related to its social history. Thus social relations, religion, ownership pattern, community involvement, major landowners who are involved in development and redevelopment projects and also individuals such as immigrants, artists, refugees,

political exiles have had a much greater impact on its incremental development process than formal institutional planning has.

The history of this organic process, with its several cycles of growth and decline, evolution of urban pattern in relation to its socio-cultural history is discussed in detail in Appendix 8 beginning from the sixteenth century right up to the nineteenth century. In the following section the nineteenth century is briefly introduced setting the conditions which had an effect on the emergence of the film industry in Soho.

5.1 EVOLUTION OF SOHO AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE FILM INDUSTRY

Nineteenth Century and New Roads/Boundaries

In the nineteenth century Soho's urban fabric that we see today was nearly built. The new roads surrounding Soho which are very important in defining the boundaries were also developed in that period. Built in the twelfth century, only the northern boundary of Oxford Street, originally a Roman road, existed before the nineteenth century. The formation of Regent Street on the lines of old Swallow Street divided St James Parish into two and created the western boundary of Regent Street. It was designed in 1820 by John Nash who was working for the Crown. Regent Street was a frontier between Mayfair - a wealthier neighbourhood on the west - and Soho and protected Soho's village atmosphere (Allinson, 2008). Tames (1994: 9) defined Regent Street as "a complete separation between Nobility and Gentry and the trading part like a territorial adjustment". The eastern and southern boundaries, Charing Cross and Shaftesbury Avenue, were laid around in the 1880s by the Metropolitan Building Office (Sheppard, 1966). Charing Cross Road opened in 1887 following the line of Old Crown Street (previously Hog Lane). Figure 5.3 shows these boundaries of Soho.

It is important to mention these new roads as they gave an impetus to the opening of new theatres - the Theatre-land of West End - which are an important factor in the concentration of art and entertainment-related activities and clusters in Soho. The development of Shaftesbury Avenue in 1884 led to the opening of several theatres and introduced a new function of entertainment to the area.

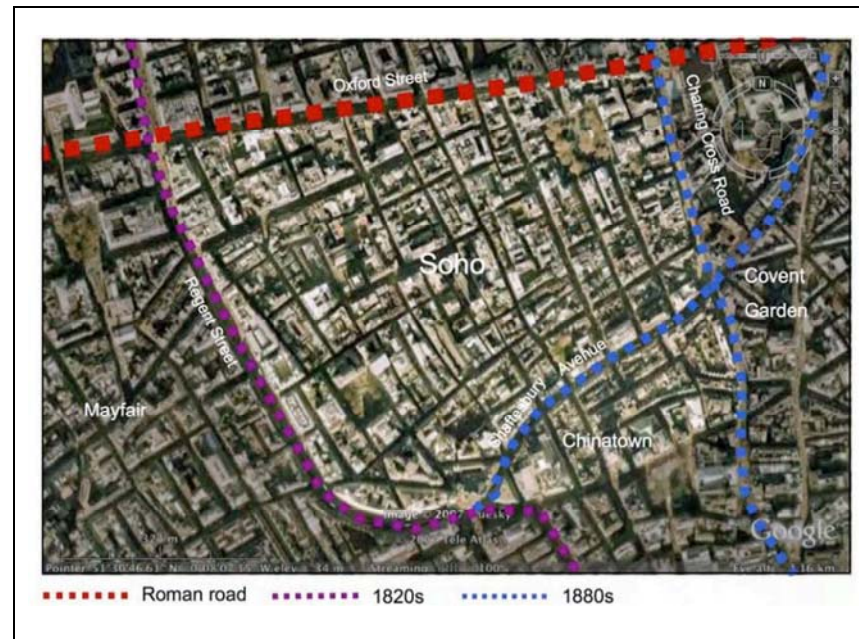


Figure 5.3 Boundaries of Soho (Westminster City Council, 2005)

New roads also brought new commercial buildings which replaced older houses (Sheppard, 1966). The larger-scale flamboyant freestyle architecture of theatres helped define Soho's distinctiveness and improved the attractiveness of the area (Summers, 1989). These new cultural venues led to a more vibrant socio-cultural environment in Soho. The population began to diversify with artists and painters, sculptors and bohemians moving into the area.

Foreign communities of Greeks and French and then Germans and Italians began to settle in the 1860s and Polish and Russians came in the 1890s (Tames, 1994). These communities' started-up small businesses, often in trades operating from their homes, based on the ground floors. They opened cheap eating-houses and Soho quickly became the place to be seen for writers, artists and other intellectuals. The area developed a reputation as a vibrant restaurant and food quarter, promoting the habit of eating out (Westminster City Council, 2005). As explained in detail in Appendix 8, artists, talented immigrants, political exiles, rebellious and religious refugees brought their businesses and trades in art, cosmopolitan and entertainment life to Soho. This production of art and crafts led to the emergence of creative industries in Soho which is now predominated by the media, advertising and film industries, making Soho the cultural centre of the UK.

Twentieth Century

From the 1900s onwards, Soho became a venue for music and night clubs which also contributed to the cultural production and consumption in the area. Soho became the home of jazz and famous jazz bars opened like Ronnie Scott's in 1959 (Godbolt, 2005). Theatres and other entertainment buildings that opened with the development of these new roads attracted film people and Wardour Street became the focus of the early film industry. The coffee-bar culture which Italians started in the 1950s also contributed to the bohemian culture of the area (Partington, 2009).

In the early 1960s, however, Soho became run down, and eventually sex-related business took hold in the area, following which Soho became known as a red-light district. So as well as being a focus for entertainment and bohemian life, for much of the late twentieth century Soho was best known for its sex shops and night life. Into the late 1960s, striptease clubs, sex shops and prostitution flourished in the area (Collins, 2004).

Another twentieth century phenomenon is the association of Soho with gay people. The 'gay' scene which had already been present since the 1920s, and related gay establishments increased in the area (Collins, 2004; Mort, 1995). As defined by Collins (2004), Soho's 'gay-village' boomed in the 1990s, giving an entirely different character to the area especially with the opening of a gay venue named 'Village'.

Soho witnessed activist movements and the intervention of the Council beginning from 1970s. Mort (1995) argued that the formation of local lobby Soho Society in 1972, which played an important role in preserving Soho and the 'Cleanup Soho' project of Westminster City Council which is initiated by the Conservative Government of 1982 changed the area's look. Mort (1995) added that 1980s introduced contemporary developments in Soho and particularly after the 1980s, more media-film related companies moved into the area and eventually Soho is represented as 'medialand' which Mort (1995: 573) suggested that: "a distinctive grouping of media professionals and cultural entrepreneurs occupied a pivotal role in the transformations taking place in Soho during this period".

The relationship with the film industry, the emergence and growth of the film industry in Soho and the current location patterns are discussed below in Section 5.2. The factors which are important forming the film clusters in Soho is evaluated with the aim of understanding how Soho has become such an enduring location for the film industry and how it has sustained its connections over time.

5.2 FILM INDUSTRY IN SOHO

5.2.1 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION AND THE LOCATION PATTERNS

The history of creative industries in Soho dates back to the seventeenth century as explained in detail in Appendix 8. Immigrants set the scene for creative production in Soho. They started businesses and used the ground floors and backyards of their homes as workshops and ateliers (Int-S21). This way of working helped them communicate and interact easily. It was easy to get from one shop to another or walk through the porous structure of Soho. A long-standing resident of Soho and the founder of the Soho Society and the British Film Institute said that:

“Whatever has happened in 17th-18th century of Soho is also happening nowadays. At that time it was the tailors with the trousers on their arms walking around the textile ateliers and workshops, now it is the filmmakers with the CDs, DVDs, and tapes to be cut walking in between the companies” (Int-S21).

The emergence of the film industry in Soho is related to film business going on in London due to the influence of US companies, location, business relations and perhaps the land values and rents. Film business came to Soho not much later than the emergence of cinema which is 1896 (AHRB, 2005; Nachum and Keeble, 1999).

The film industry first emerged in London in the early twentieth century after American companies opened branches in London soon after the first motion picture was screened by Lumieres Brothers in Paris in 1895 (AHRB, 2005). London was the centre of industrial and commercial activity and an entertainment centre, so the film business in London was a logical extension of London’s vibrant cultural environment. Photographic, lantern and theatrical entertainment industries formed the basis of the new industry (AHRB, 2005). American and European companies opened British Affiliates in London. American Mutascope in 1897, Vitagraph as the established British

Affiliate in 1912, Lasky Film as the affiliate of Paramount Pictures in 1915, and Fox in 1916, set up their offices in London (Nachum and Keeble, 1999). The early location of the film industry in London was clustered around several streets in Westminster mainly in Holborn, in Warwick Court, Gray's Inn Road and Hatton Garden; and around Soho in a narrow passageway called Cecil Court in Covent Garden (Figure 5.4). Later in the twentieth century a group of companies started to set up their businesses in Soho (Autton, 2010; Brown, 2007; McKernan, 2006).



Figure 5.4 Location of the Film Companies in London in the Twentieth Century
(Base Map: Edina Digimap, 2011)

Warwick Court, Hatton Garden and Gray's Inn Road

The film business in London began as an “off-shoot of the photographic and scientific instrument industry based” in Warwick Court, Hatton Garden and Gray's Inn Road (Brown, 2007). Warwick Court was the first place that bigger companies preferred to locate to, as there were “existing networks of like-minded business” and available office spaces. Hatton Garden, which is currently the main cluster of the jewellery business, was the location of apparatus manufacturers and lens makers. Camera makers and projector sellers were located in Gray's Inn Road. Various firms dealing in optical or camera equipment were located along High Holborn and Oxford Street (Brown, 2007).

It is important to mention the Warwick Trading Company¹, which takes its name from its location in Warwick Court and the founder, Charles Urban², as the important pioneers of the development of the film industry in London and also in Soho. The Warwick Trading Company was initially located in Warwick Court³ in 1897; it was then moved to Soho (48 Rupert Street) in 1903, by Charles Urban when he broke away from the American parent company. In 1908 he moved to new premises in Wardour Street, becoming the first film business to be established in Soho. He showed his films at the Alhambra Music Hall located nearby Soho which might have played an important role in this location decision (McKernan, 2006).

Cecil Court

As well as Warwick Court and Gray's Inn Road, the film business also clustered along Cecil Court which is a small pedestrian passageway running through Charing Cross Road and St Martin's Lane. In the early twentieth century, Cecil Court was "a mythic birthplace, commercial centre and the heart of London's film industry" (Brown, 2007: 23). As opposed to earlier locations around Holborn, Cecil Court was the location of new starter companies as the street structure and office spaces were more suitable for small businesses (Figure 5.5).

Among the first tenants of the new buildings were early film distributors, suppliers of technical equipment, and publishers of promotional material and trade journals such as the *Biascope Annual* (Brown, 2007). The concentration of the main film cluster in Cecil Court occurred between 1897 and 1907 with several major film companies⁴ of

¹ The company led some important innovations in the film industry such as Kinemacolor and Bioscope, (Brown, 2007).

² Charles Urban, one of the pioneers of the film industry, moved to London from America in 1897. He obtained the agency rights for the Edison Vitascope projector and then developed his own projector, Bioscope. After he was made the manager of the English branch of an American firm of Maguire and Baucus he moved to London. As well as making documentary, news, travel and educational films, he was the producer of a natural colour motion picture system, Kinemacolor. In 1922 he moved back to New York (McKernan, 2006).

³ Charles Urban relocated the company to Warwick Court, which was initially based at Broad Street around Liverpool Street when he realised that the burgeoning film industry was likely to locate around High Holborn and Gray's Inn Road rather than Liverpool Street.

⁴ Major film companies of that period such as Biograph (1897), Hepworth (1897-1909), Gaumont (1899-1906), New Bioscope (1904-1911), Vitagraph (1907-1911), Graham and Latham (1907-1909) and Nordisk (1908-1910) were based in Cecil Court. In 1899, Gaumont was at 25 Cecil Court and by 1906 they occupied four premises in Cecil Court (Brown, 2007).

that period having international networks. As well as being a location for production companies, Cecil Court offices were used as sales premises for their films, projectors and other ancillary appliances; and there were also fully equipped screening rooms in the basements of the buildings. It is possible to speculate that the existence of theatres close to Cecil Court might also have accelerated the formation of the clusters in Cecil Court as well as in Soho, as the companies were using the theatres for film screenings.

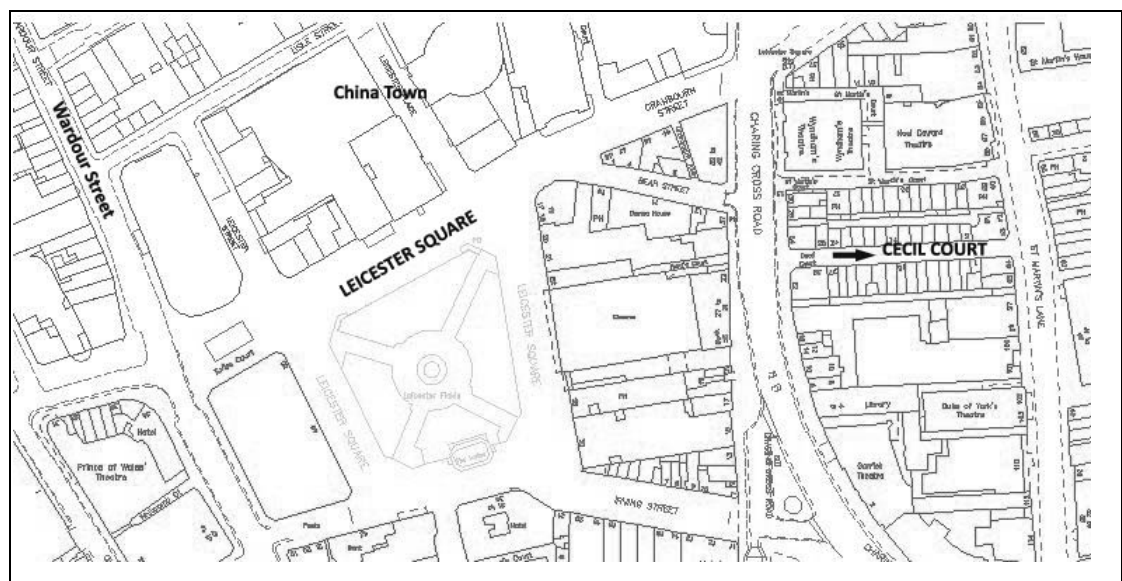


Figure 5.5 Cecil Court and its Relation to Soho (Source: Edina Digimap)

The companies in Cecil Court were operating as *one-stop-shops* for the cinema trade “to be a complete cinematograph and outfit supply store stocking all the different makes of machine; firms of any subject, cameras, projectors, lamps, and all accessories” (Brown, 2007: 23). These companies were also collaborating, sharing information, products, resources and even clients among themselves.

Changes in film buying and screening systems, and changes in the industrial and economic structure of the existing companies resulted in location changes. As businesses grew, they expanded into more offices and some of them moved into nearby Soho (i.e. Denman, Sherwood Streets in Soho) as the Cecil Court offices had become too small for them. In addition as they were more self-sufficient, the necessity of agglomeration receded (Brown, 2007).

Therefore, the industry structure, which was based on the *one-stop shop*, changed, particularly after 1907 when these established companies started to move out. Later

on, new companies moved into these vacant premises which tended to be specialist dealers in the import and distribution of foreign films, or specialists in film rental or equipment rather than the previous *consolidated companies* (Brown, 2007). The new businesses were based on foreign film sales, supply of equipment and furnishings for cinemas, and film rental (Brown, 2007).

In conclusion, the film clusters in Cecil Court did not survive long and the majority of them had left by 1910s. All that remains today are the many blue plaques commemorating film businesses, as shown in Figure 5.6, and the many second-hand bookshops. Recently Cecil Court's links with the film industry were revived when it was used as the location for movies such as *84 Charing Cross Road* (1987) and *Miss Potter* (2006) (Bryars, n.d).

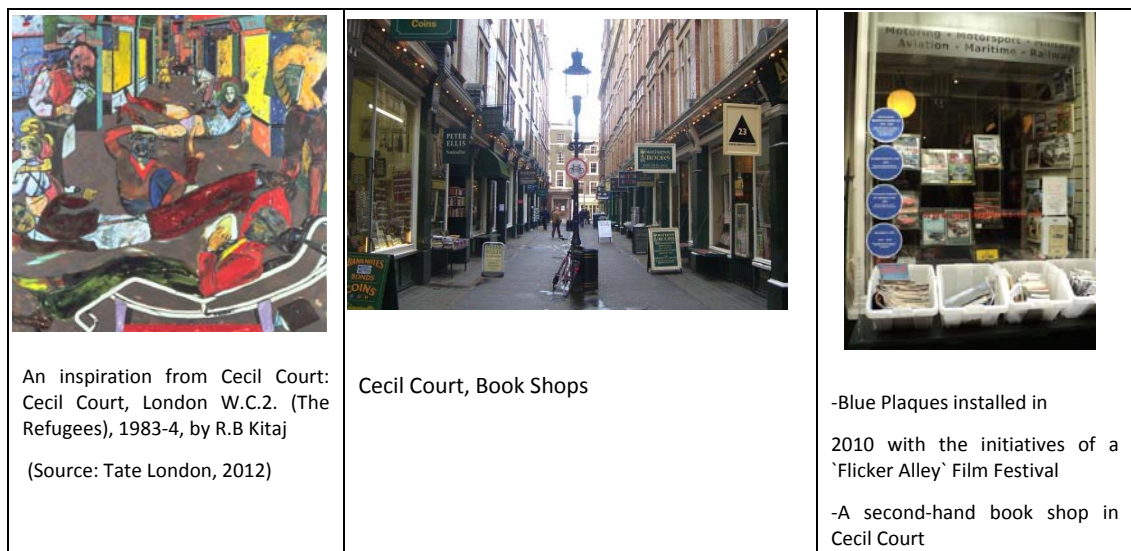


Figure 5.6 Cecil Court

To conclude, the primary locations of the film industry were narrow streets or courtyards where many film companies clustered. As the industry grew, it expanded into Soho, which probably provided more options as it consisted of many narrow streets and different sized buildings and office spaces. It is important to highlight that the film industry has a strong relationship with urban place as it has certain location patterns. In addition, this agglomeration also accelerated other businesses in the area such as the opening of the screening rooms, and many hotels to accommodate the foreign film buyers, as explained below.

Screening Rooms and Theatres and Hotels

The agglomeration of the film industry in Cecil Court also resulted in firms providing screening facilities. Screenings attracted film buyers from around the world and showing films *on approval*⁵ reduced the cost of film prints and shipping, bringing advantages for manufacturers and film traders as films could be shown to various customers at the same time (Brown, 2007). These developments accelerated the growth of the industry. London became the focus for film buyers. Hotels opened around Soho and Cecil Court to accommodate these buyers. The American Biograph Company began showing films in 1897 and other major companies showed their films in neighbouring theatres including the Alhambra and Palace Theatres. Specialist cinemas began to emerge in 1906. The Palais de Luxe Cinema was one of the first places where early silent films were shown. By 1911 there were 104 theatres and music halls and by 1914 London had 475 film venues. At one time there was an average of three cinemas per square mile in London; however, when larger cinema complexes opened in the West End, business slowed and many cinemas were forced to close down. Today there are 265 cinemas in London and 383 film venues of all kinds including theatres and music halls (AHRB, 2005).

Soho-Wardour Street

Film companies moved from Cecil Court to Soho in the early nineteenth century, especially to nearby Wardour Street, Denman Street and Sherwood Street (Brown, 2007). Urbanara House, Film House, National House and Hammer House, located along Wardour Street accommodated some of these companies (Autton, 2010; Brown 2007; Int-S26). The locations of these companies are summarised in Table 5.1 on the next page.

⁵ A film screening system for film trading companies which is based on watching the films on location before buying them; before this system was introduced, the films were shipped to the manufacturers or traders.

Table 5.1 The Early Film Companies Locating in Soho (Autton 2010; Brown 2007)

Name of the Location	Date	Name of the Company
Great Windmill Street	1897	American Mutoscope and Biograph Syndicate
Rupert Street, 48	1903	Charles Urban Trading Company
Sherwood Street	1906	Gaumont
Wardour Street (Urbanara House)	1908	Charles Urban Trading Company
Gerard Street	1909	Many Edwardian Companies
Denman Street	1910	Hepworth
Wardour Street, 142 (Film House)	1910	British Pathe
Soho Square, 3-4	1912	British Board of Film Classification
Wardour Street, 60-62 (National House)	1935	Exclusive and Hammer Films
Wardour Street, 113-117 (Hammer House)	1949	Hammer Film
Soho Square, 32-33	1936	Twentieth Century Fox

Since the 1890s Soho has always been the centre of film, TV and media-related activities in London. Although initial locations were Warwick Court, Gray's Inn Road and Cecil Court it was not long before the film business relocated to Soho. As explained previously, due to the changes in the industrial and economic structure of the companies, the agglomeration in Cecil Court also shifted and some of the companies moved into Soho.

Initially, filming and editing were carried out at the studios (sound stage) which were located at the outskirts of London such as Walton-on-Thames (Hepworth, 2009). However, as these services have become more specialised, they were moved to central London and also to Soho. In addition, Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009: 129) argued that the improvements in the technology such as the "transition from physical effects to digital effects" accelerated the relocation to central London where there had already been "existing expertise in video and sound editing; activities which overlapped with those requirements of TV".

The industrial and economic structure of the film industry is heavily reliant on the advances in technology (Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009). Firms move to bigger premises, or acquire further office space or move to smaller offices depending on the changes in the organisation, industrial and economic dynamics and also in response to

technological improvements. This raises the question of flexibility and adaptability of office spaces and also urban form. It is possible to argue that Soho's porous permeable street pattern and different scale of buildings and plots together with the physically enclosed structure might have served well for the needs of various specialised small- and large-scale companies which could have contributed to sustaining these clusters. In Cecil Court and Hatton Garden there was less possibility for this kind of flexibility. In Soho, firms today have the option to expand into more than one office; as additional office space is easily accessible. In addition to this the role of rents and land values in these different locations might have affected the movement of companies from Holborn to Cecil Court and then on to Soho. Further investigation in this area could compare land values and rents, particularly in the 1910s when the movements were at their peak.

Although the literature review and the early mapping of the clusters provided some answers, this is not the whole picture by any means, and in subsequent sections of the thesis, the relationship between the film industry and especially physical setting of Soho is explored through the field study in an attempt to discover why Soho has proved such an enduring location for the film industry and film people. Currently, although the main cluster is Soho, in the last decade in particular there has been a tendency towards the Noho Area which is again just near Soho, located on the north of Oxford Street (hence named Noho, North of Oxford Street). In the following section the current spatial pattern of Soho clusters are discussed. It presents the current spatial pattern of the film industry clusters in Soho based on the interviews, questionnaires, email survey, and mapping. The research also expands its focus to the Noho Area and other clusters in London in Section 5.3.

5.2.2 CURRENT SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE FILM INDUSTRY IN SOHO

Contribution of the UK Film Industry to the UK Economy

Before focusing on Soho it is helpful to mention the film industry in London in general. The economic and socio-cultural value added by the film industry is highlighted in the research reports especially commissioned by Film London and the UK Film Council. It

contributes directly to the UK economy with cultural products, job growth, and employment linkages to other creative industries. It creates jobs and attracts direct and indirect foreign investment to the UK economy. It impacts on many sectors including tourism, culture and merchandising through DVDs, Blue Ray, music and soundtracks, books, video games and phone apps, toys, and models (Oxford Economics, 2010). The core UK film industry⁶ makes a substantial direct contribution to the UK GDP, employment, taxation and investment. The industry's *total value added* increased from £956 million in 1995 to £3.1 billion in 2008 which is 0.2% of the UK's total GDP (Gross Domestic Product). All these sectors, related to film production, production, postproduction, exhibition and distribution showed substantial growth over the 14 year period, with the production sector showing the biggest gain (UK Film Council, 2010).

Recently, governments throughout the world have begun to support their national film industries with tax credits, tax reliefs, grants, tax rebates, and transferable and refundable tax credits (Oxford Economics, 2010; Scott, 2005). The UK Government support for the UK film Industry started in the 1930s with the Cinematographic Films Act (1927). Particularly in the 1930s the policies were aimed to attract Hollywood/US film business to the UK with tax incentives encouraging using 'Britishness', with British themes, topics, scenarios or actors, and using British locations and culture (Nachum and Keeble, 1999). Companies received various forms of financial support benefiting from different systems of tax relief (Nachum and Keeble, 1999).

There are 8,020 companies involved in film production, post-production, distribution and exhibition in the UK; 4,250 companies in London (53% of the UK), with 512 companies in Westminster City (12% of London) and 280 (6.5% of London) of them located in Soho (Table 5.2). The findings indicate that as well as Westminster and Soho there are other areas where film companies are located, which are discussed in Section 5.3. In addition, although Soho is known as the film core of London, as claimed by the interviewees and many other researchers (Nachum and Keeble, 2000, 1999, 2002, 2003a and 2003b; Gornostaeva, 2009; Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009) findings

⁶ Production, Post-production, Exhibition and Distribution

presented in Table 5.2 indicates that Soho has only 6.5% of the companies that locate to London, which raises the question of why Soho is perceived as the centre of the film industry.

Table 5.2 Number of Film Companies in London, Westminster, W1 and Soho

UK		London		Westminster City		W1 (Including Soho and Noho)		Soho		
Number of the Film Companies			% UK		% London	W1	%	Soho	% W1	% London
	8020*	4250*	53	512**	12	465***	90.6	280***	60	6.5

Involves all sectors, production, post-production, distribution and exhibition

*Source: UK Film Council, 2010 ** Westminster Business Directory (WBD), 2010

***Field Work, Knowledge Online and W.B.D

Soho

Soho film companies account for one third of all businesses located in the area. The Westminster Business Directory suggests that there are 1,005⁷ registered businesses in Soho, 280 of which are in the film industry, which is nearly one third of the total (Westminster Business Directory, 2010). There are various types of companies involved in the various stages of film-making such as production, post-production (editing, special effects, visual effects, sound studios, etc) distribution and other related media and advertising companies which Coe and John (2004) defined as the key stages of a film-making process.

Currently, Soho contributes to the talent pool of Westminster and more than 5,000⁸ people work in Soho-based companies. As well as small-scale companies (nearly 50%) there are also several large-scale companies which are the important players in the world film business⁹ (around 7%). They are mainly distribution and post-production companies whereas production companies tend to be the smaller companies. The

⁷ There are 865 registered companies in Westminster Business Directory and 140 of them which are film-related are located in Soho. As there are 280 companies in Soho, the difference 140 (280-140=140) which is added to 865 and the total number of business locating in Westminster which is 1005 is calculated (865+140=1005).

⁸ This is calculated based on the averages of employee bands and multiplied with the number of the company number shown in Table 5.3.

⁹ 20th Century Fox, Paramount Pictures, Sony, Frame store, MPC, Cinesite, Ascent 142, Molinare, The Mill, etc.

number of large- and small-scale companies and the employee bands are shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Size Distribution of the Film Companies in Soho

Employee band (People)	Number of film companies	%
501-1000	2	1
251-500	4	2
100-250	7	4
51-100	16	9
26-50	17	10
11-25	33	19
6-10	45	25
1-5	55	31
Total Contacted*	177**	100
NA	103	
TOTAL SOHO	280	

*The information is based on the data gathered for 177 companies in Soho out of 280.

**Information obtained from Email/Telephone Survey and 2010 Westminster Business Directory, and Web pages of the companies

There are 141 production (50%), 98 post-production (35%), 11 distribution (5%) and 28 companies operating in more than one area and two associations related to Film-TV production located in Soho. Within Soho, most are located in the W1F postal area which comprises the West of Soho and Wardour Street area (Table.5.4).

Table.5.4 Film Companies in Soho and Noho

Categories	SOHO						NOHO	W1
	W1B	W1D	W1F	W1V	W1A	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL
Distribution	0	4	6	0	1	11	11	22
Production	2	34	101	3	0	141	101	242
Post Production	1	27	69	0	0	98	42	140
Mixed	1	8	19	0	0	28	30	58
Association	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3
TOTAL *	6	74	196	3	1	280	185	465

Keywords for Westminster Business Directory Search: Film & Video and TV production Services; Recording Companies and Studios

Keywords for Knowledge Online Search: Advertising Agencies, Digital Asset Management, Film sales-agents, Distributors, Laboratories, Post Production, Digital Effects, Digital Filmmaking, Graphics-Film and TV, Sound Studios, Post Production studios, Subtitling, Visual Effects, Production, Animation Production, Lighting Equipment Hire and Sale, Location Library

There are different location patterns. Film companies mainly cluster along the main streets, around the squares and also near the mews, courtyards and short-cuts. The majority of the companies cluster along the historic location, Wardour Street, as well as the streets running in a north-south direction such as Poland, Dean, D'arblay, Greek Streets; in an east-west direction such as Berwick and Beak Streets, and also around the two main squares; Golden and Soho Square (Table 5.5).

The location pattern of the clusters also varies depending on the scales of the companies. Large-scale companies (Paramount Picture, Sony Pictures and 20th Century Fox) locate around the squares. There are also large-scale companies (Framestore, Prime Focus, MPC and Angel 142) located along the main streets mainly on the ground floor of the buildings, and having the office entrances directly related to the main streets. Small-scale companies locate along the streets which are linked with the courts, mews and alleys as shown in Figure 5.7. The location of the film companies are shown in the cluster map in Figure 5.8.

Table 5.5. The Number of the Film Companies in Soho Streets

Street Name	No. Company	Street Name	No. Company
Wardour Street	45	St Anne Court	8
Poland Street	16	Lexington Street	8
Dean Street	17	Great Pulteney Street	7
D'arblay Street	15	Great Marlborough Street	7
Golden Square	14	Old Compton Street	7
Greek Street	15	Noel Street	6
Berwick Street	15	Bateman Street	6
Beak Street	14	Brewer Street	5
Soho Square	11	Other 23 Streets*	66

*Archer, Broadwick, Carlisle, Carnaby, Duck Lane, Dufours Place, Foubert's Place, Ganton, Great Chapel, Great Marlborough, Great Pulteney, Hills Place, Hollen, Hopkins, Ingestre Place, Kingly, Livonia, Lower James, Lowndes Court, Manette, Marshall, Meard, Moor, Newburgh, Oxford, Portland Mews, Ramillies, Richmond, Royaltymews, Shaftsbury Avenue, St Anne Court, Warwick, Winnett

As well as film industry-related clusters there are there are other creative industry sectors in Soho. Advertising, internet and media clusters locate around Regent Street; fashion clusters mainly locate around Carnaby Street (Jones Lang LaSalle IP, 2008). In addition, West End theatre land is located just in and around Soho along the roads surrounding Soho, and hosts the famous West End shows. As discussed in Section

5.2.1, those theatres contributed to the emergence of clusters in Soho. Currently they also contribute to perpetuating the clusters by creating a lively atmosphere and opportunities for a diversity of cultural events. There are also sub-clusters serving the creative industries such as printing and stationery facilities, art shops selling various art materials; textile shops selling silk, cotton etc; book shops with lots of books and magazines; record shops with old records and a wide range of CDs and DVDs, and unique jewellery shops associated with Soho.



Figure 5.7 Location Patterns in Soho

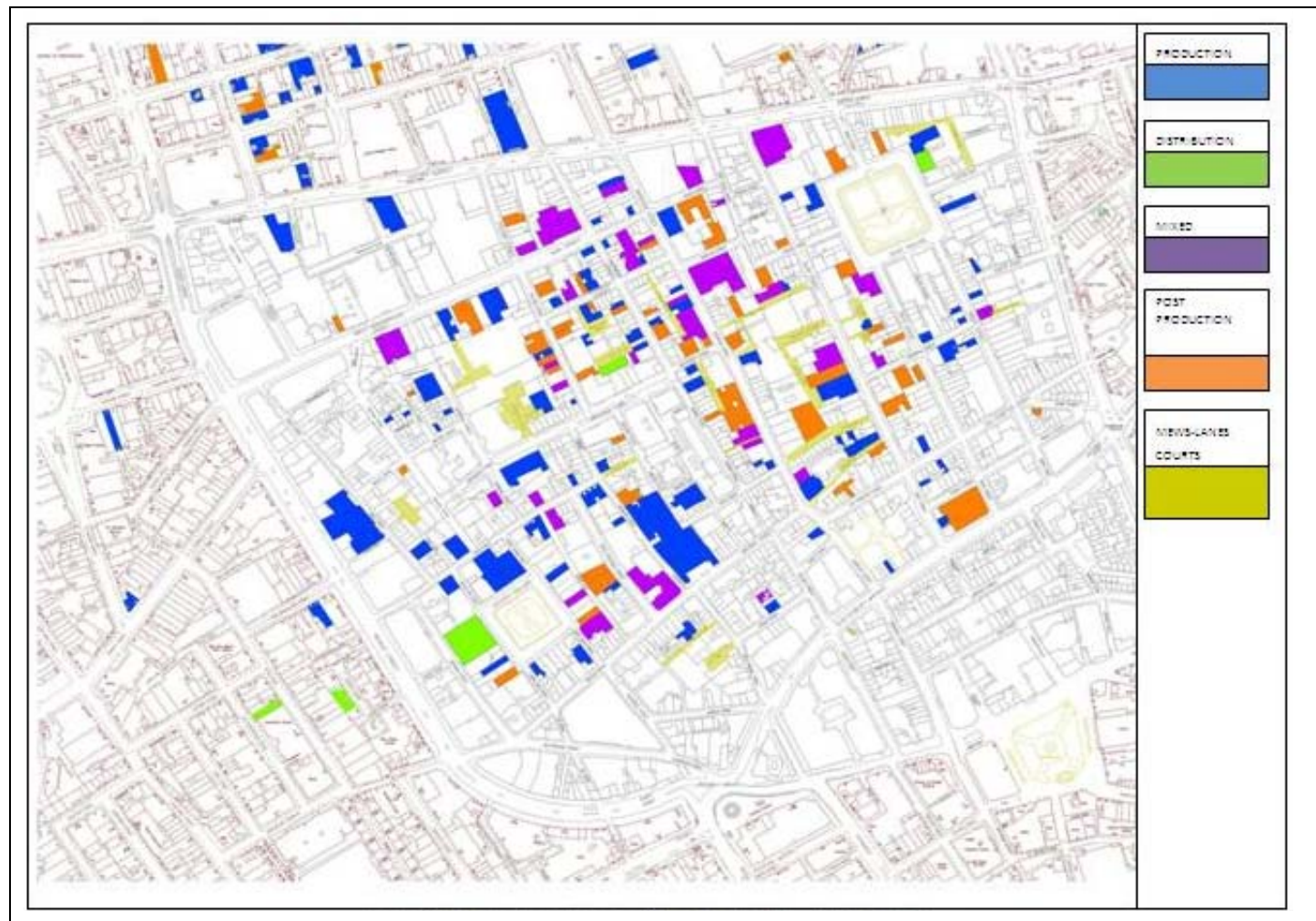


Figure 5.8 Clustering: The Location Patterns of the Film Clusters in Soho (A3)

Industrial Structure

After discussing the categories of the companies and the location patterns of the clusters, it is also helpful to briefly introduce the industrial structure of the companies, and how they interact and collaborate with each other.

Keeble and Nachum (2003a) indicated that Soho is a media cluster having small-local firms as well as multinational enterprises (MNEs) in close proximity being “intertwined with one another in dense localised networks of transactional activities” (Nachum and Keeble, 2003a:177). Additionally, most of the companies in Soho enjoy international collaborations and productions. The existence of these multinational companies provides the link between local and global markets and hence contributes to the sustainability of clusters. As Nachum and Keeble (2002: 37) suggested, “Just being local is not enough and global links are also essential”. Nachum and Keeble (2002) claimed that MNEs extend the scope of interaction of local firms with global firms linking the local clusters with media centres around the world, especially with Hollywood.

Soho is a strong concentration in W1 with these local and global firms. Nachum and Keeble, 1999: 10-11) described Soho as “an industrial setting providing networking, intra-firm linkages, affecting the economic performance, mutual learning and creating cultural synergy”. These foreign and national, local and global, multinational and transnational companies in Soho also collaborate with each other. As well as sharing resources, equipment and offices they share projects, ideas, resources, talent, and jobs. They also have clients in and around Soho. One can also speculate that companies in Soho compete through collaboration. So as well as being connected through clustering, they are also connected through job/resource-sharing and also networked through Sohonet, the area’s technological infrastructure (See Section 5.4 and 5.7)

It could be suggested that the critical mass in Soho, comprising a diversity of densely located companies from film business to post-production and easy access to various skilled and specialised people, such as filmmakers, film funders, independent television producers, distributors, international TV market, plays a key role in clustering. Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009:30) claimed that as well as having attained critical mass, Soho

also serves as a very convenient physical setting that facilitates these interactions through “serendipitous interactions on the streets, networking hubs, proximity to advertising industry, film animation, animation in Soho and also having a prestigious Soho address”, which all help to retain Soho as the core of the London film industry.

Clustering Process: Expansion and Contraction

The clustering process in Soho is not the result of any strategic intervention and urban policy. These clusters developed based on their own industrial dynamics, collaboration and competition interactions, which are highly related to spatial aspects. The factors can be grouped as Soho factors which will be discussed in Section 5.4 and 5.5 and other external factors as introduced below focusing in the expansion and contraction of the clusters.

Set-up Date of the Companies

The oldest company, an association, located in Soho has been there since 1912. The oldest film production company in Soho was launched in the 1950s and is still there today. As shown in Table 5.6, 12% of the companies were set up before the 1980s. Most companies in Soho are fairly young start-ups; 72% were set up after 1990 with the peak between 1996 and 2000 (Table 5.6 and Figure 5.9).

This movement towards Soho might also be related to the increase in the number of Film, Television (FTV) firms and transnational corporations (TNCS) in London, especially after the 1980s, due to the deregulation of the FTV industry in Britain and also globalisation of the media (Gornostaeva, 2009). In addition, Gornostaeva and Cheshire (2003) argued that The Thatcher Broadcasting Act broke up old-scale monopolistic companies resulting in outsourcing in search of lower costs (Gornostavea and Cheshire, 2003), which in turn may have increased the number of smaller-scale companies.

Table 5.6 Set-up Date of the Companies

Set-up Date	Number	of	%	Number	of	%
Pre-1980	23		12	52		28
1981-1990	29		16			
1991-2000	72		38	135		72
2001-2011	63		34			
Total contacted *	187*		100	187		100

*The graphic and the table are based on the information gathered from 187 companies in Soho out of 280.

(NA is 93)

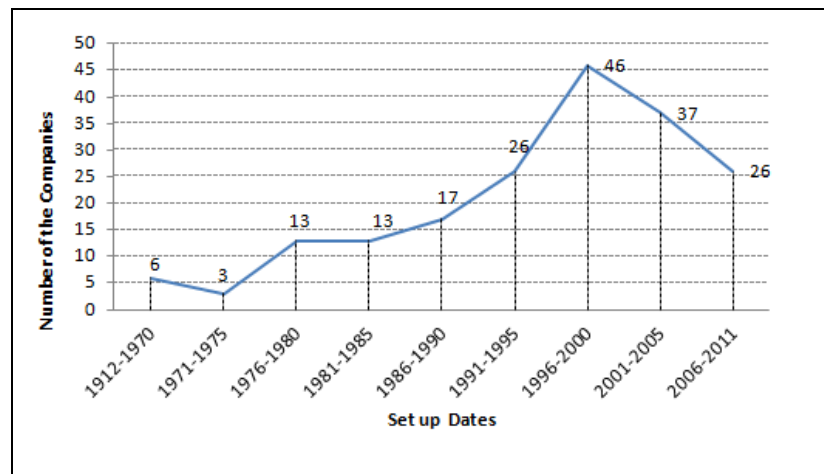


Figure 5.9 Set-up Dates of the Film Companies in Soho

Move into Soho

It is also important to understand when the companies started to cluster in Soho in terms of analysing the factors behind clustering. Some companies were launched in Soho and have been there ever since. Nearly three-quarters of companies are less than 20 years old; the majority (82%) moved into Soho in the 1990s. They either started business in Soho or moved to Soho after 1990, and over half (55%) moved to Soho after 2000 (Table 5.7 and Figure 5.10).

Table 5.7 Date of Move into Soho

Date of location in Soho	Number of the Companies	%	Number of the Companies	%
Pre-1980	10	6.5	23	18
1981-1990	13	9.5		
1991-2000	40	29	103	82
2001-2011	63	55		
Total *	126	100	126	100

*The graphic and the table are based on the information gathered from 126 companies in Soho out of 280 (NA is 154)

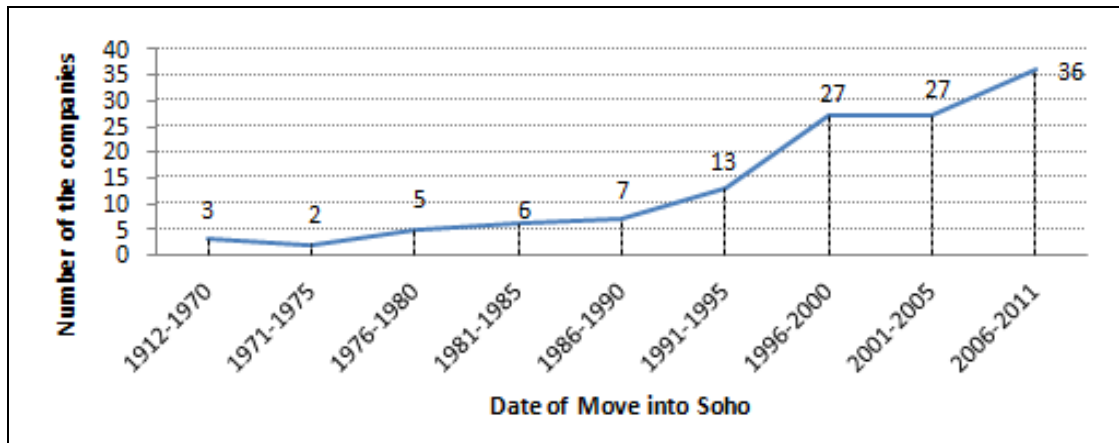


Figure 5.10 Clustering Process in Soho

It is possible to speculate that other industrial and economic factors might have been affected during this shift, particularly after the 1990s, following the organisational changes that took place in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). In the 1990s, the BBC introduced an organisational change which is a new trading system termed 'producer choice' (Wegg-Prosser, 1998). Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009: 125) indicated that this new system required broadcasters "to choose a percentage of content from independent production companies, which has led the BBC to outsource its programmes". This change expanded the programme-market, freelancing and short-term working. In addition, Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009) argued that after the 1990s the industrial structure also changed and smaller, single project-oriented companies were established. It is possible to argue that the outsourcing of the TV programmes might have accelerated the clustering in Soho due to locational proximity to the BBC Headquarters in Noho and the sub-clusters in West London, and in particular to the BBC Media City in White City¹⁰. Additionally, some interviewees mentioned the British Telecom Tower (BT Tower), built in 1964 to carry microwave links, which is located near Noho, as a factor in decisions to locate to Soho.

The online questionnaire results and interview findings confirm that once companies have moved into Soho, they tend to stay. The interviewees highlight that despite some problems (see Section 5.5) they are willing to stay in Soho, as just being in Soho provides them economic advantage. They have no plans to move, and state that they

¹⁰ The BBC Television Centre was erected in 1960 and it is located in West London at Shepherds Bush (also the site for BBC White City). The first BBC building in BBC White City was built in 1990, named as White City One. In 2004 five new buildings were added with a focus on public realm and social infrastructure (BBC, 2012)

have few concerns. Most of the participants (77%) highlight that they are happy with Soho and they have no plans to move. Only 8% plan to move from Soho, mainly because of personal issues and other factors related to the life-style choices. The tendencies towards location change are shown in Figure 5.11. The few people also cited the problems of city living as the reason they wanted to move somewhere greener or quieter: “Yes, I’m leaving the industry completely as it’s not for me, I don’t enjoy coming into Soho/London so me and my husband are looking for a quieter life in the country” (Int-S39). One respondent planned to move from the UK:

“Perhaps, outside of the UK, to Vancouver in Canada or San Francisco in California. Both are hubs for the visual effects industry and both offer activities related to nature such as hiking, surfing, cycling... London is good to boost the career initially, but is not a place to settle long term or to raise a family” (Int-S33)

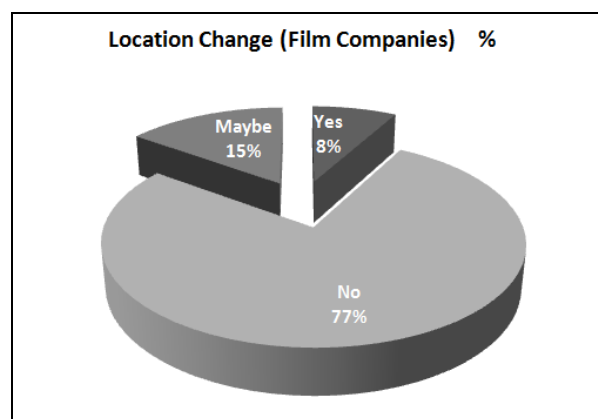


Figure 5.11 Location Change Tendencies of the Film Companies

De-clustering

As well as the factors relating to concentration, it is also important to mention the tendencies towards decentralisation. Gornostaeva (2008) in particular discussed the movement towards London’s suburbs. In 1951, the proportion of people employed in the Film Television (FTV) industry in Westminster including Soho in comparison with London was 61%, but by 2005, this had fallen to 37.1% (Annual Business Inquiry and the census Population, as cited in Gornostaeva, 2008). These shifts highlight the decentralisation pattern from the inner city towards the suburbs. Gornostaeva (2008) conceptualised this movement as *negative and positive decentralisation*. The positive decentralisation is related to the *lifestyle choice of the rich* and the latter is related to the behaviour of losers who were not successful in central locations which she defined as *loser’s retreat* (Gornostaeva, 2008). In particular, according to Gornostaeva (2008),

the problems are related to “specifics of industrial organisation, diseconomies of high rents and overcrowding/congestion, requirements of particular lifestyles, and other business failures” (Gornostaeva, 2008:1). Her observations are in parallel with the findings of this research - that lifestyle choices also determine the location shifts not just the economic and spatial considerations.

5.3 OTHER FILM INDUSTRY CLUSTERS IN LONDON AND NOHO

Studies on the geographic location tendencies of film clusters in London have been undertaken. Nachum and Keeble (1999, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b), Gornostaeva (2008 and 2009), Gornostaeva and Cheshire (2003), Pratt (2009), Pratt and Gornostaeva, (2009) conducted empirical and theoretical research in identifying the clustering activities in London. Film companies are spread around several different locations in London such as inner-city locations, inner-suburbs and also peripheries. Especially the big film studios are located on the peripheries such as Teddington, Pinewood and Shepperton, Shephards Bush and Ealing (Gornostaeva and Cheshire, 2003; Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009). These locations of studios together with Soho, Noho (Fitzrovia) and White City are shown in Figure 5.12.

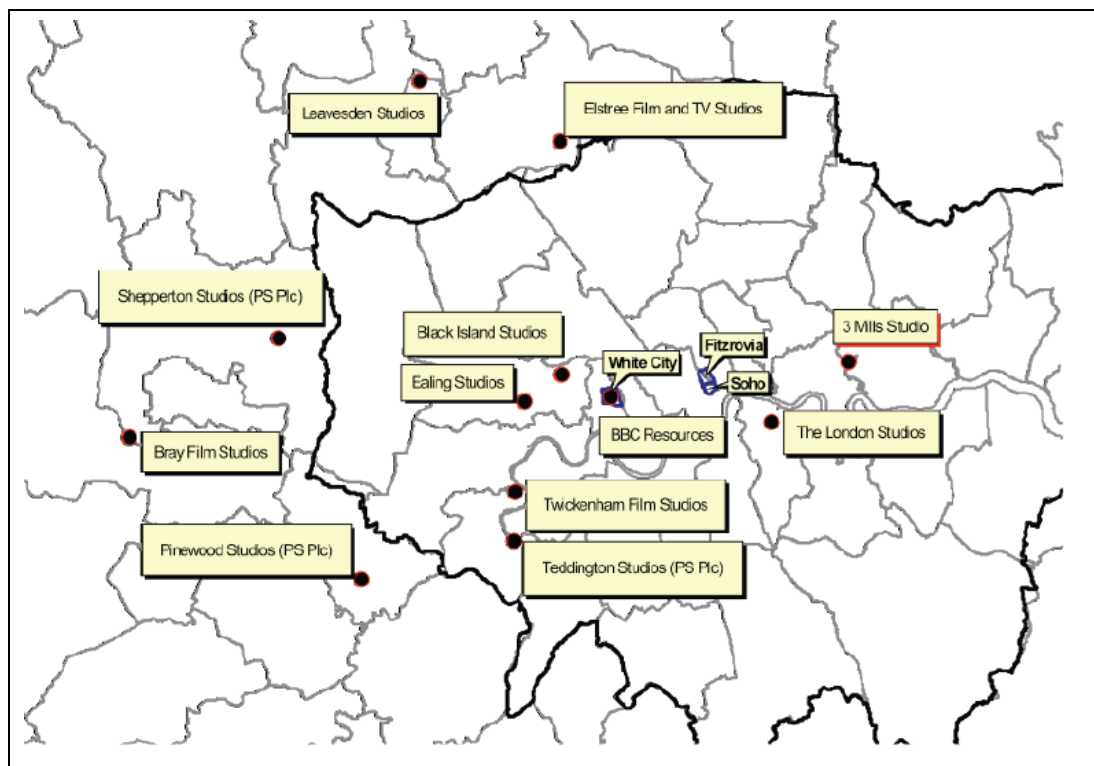


Figure 5.12 The Location of the Film Studios in London (Pratt and Gornostaeva, 2009)

Gornostaeva and Cheshire (2003) highlighted that as well as Soho, there are FTV companies located in other boroughs such as Notting Hill, Clerkenwell, Islington, Camden (Gornostaeva, 2009), East London such as Hoxton (Pratt, 2009) and Shoreditch. Montgomery (1996) indicated several other districts where media and film industries are clustered such as Chelsea, Kensington, White City and the A40 Corridor. As well as being highlighted in the literature, the interviewees also mentioned these locations: “Places like Clerkenwell and Shoreditch are popular now. Because they are now for the companies which cannot afford being in Soho” (Int-S 11); and another one referred to Hoxton: “Recently Hoxton-Clerkenwell has become trendy. They are the alternatives of Soho and maybe of Noho” (Int-S14). The locations of these clusters are shown in Figure 5.13.

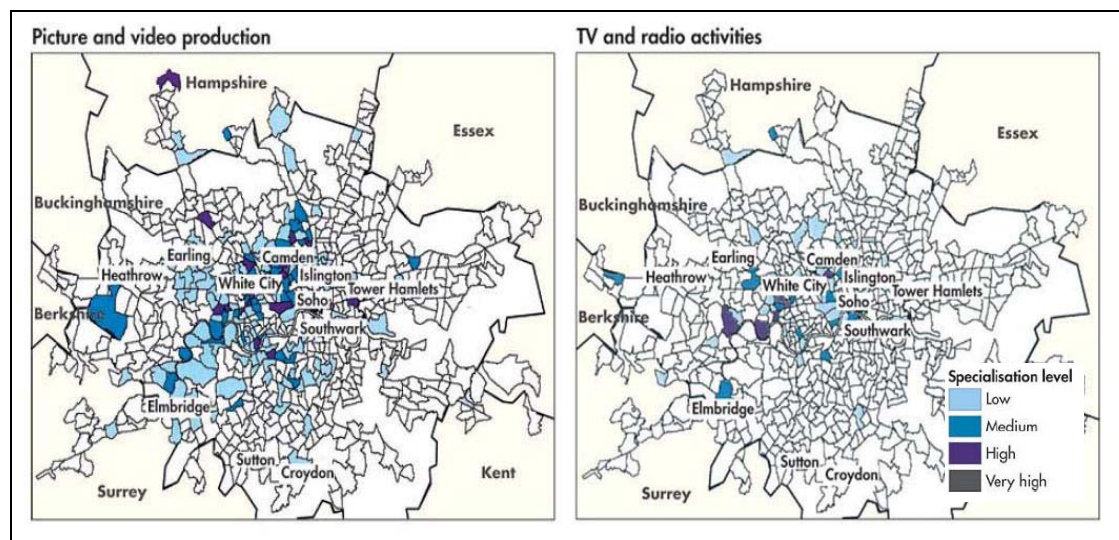


Figure 5.13 Other Film Clusters in London (Gornostaeva and Cheshire, 2003)

Noho Area (North of Oxford Street)

The findings from this research indicate that the Noho Area is the main sub-cluster, particularly for companies that have drifted from Soho. There are currently 185 companies located in Noho with the majority clustered in the W1T and W1W postal coverage areas, as shown and mapped in Figure 5.14 and Figure 5.15. Others are dispersed around the 47 streets as shown in Table 5.8 and mapped in Figure 5.14 on the next page.

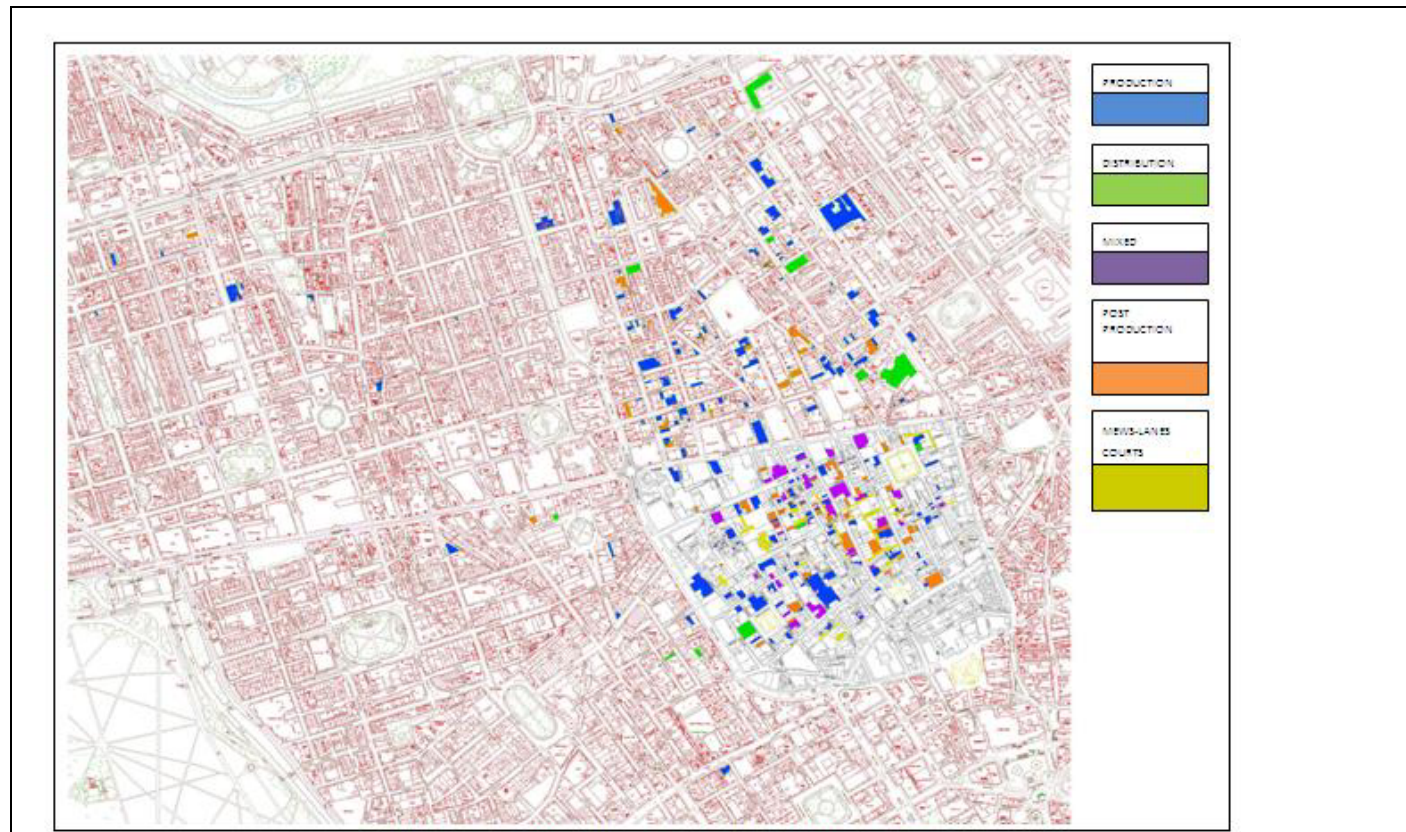


Figure 5.14 Film Companies in the W1 Area comprising Soho and Noho Clusters (A3)

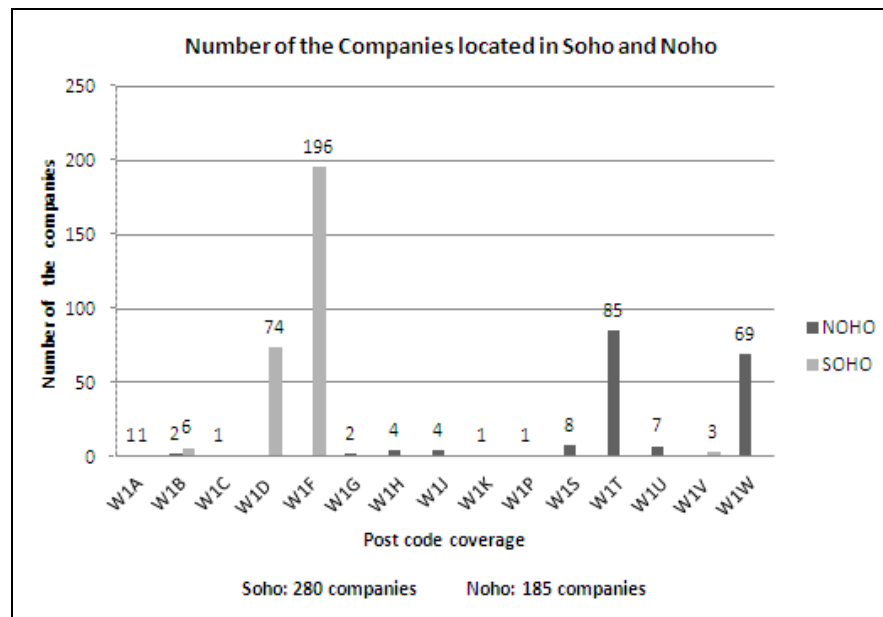


Figure 5.15 Film Clusters in Soho and Noho

Table 5.8 Street Names in Noho Where Film Companies are Located

Street Name	Number of the company	Post Code	
Little Portland	4	W	* Alfred Mews, Aybrook, Baker, Beak, Bolsover, Charles, Cleveland, Colville, Crawford, Davies, Dering, Devonshire, Eastcatle, Fitzroy, Foley, George, Gosfield, Grafton Mews, Gesse, Hanover Square, Hanover Street, Hanway, Heddon, Homer, Kenrick, Langham, Market Place, Marylebone, Middleton Park, Midford Place, Midford Place, Martimar, Nassau, Old Burlington, Picadilly, Poland, Portland Place, RodMarton, Salisbury, Stephen, Torington Place, Warren, Woodstock, York
Tottenham Court	2	T	
Bourlet Close	6	W	
Wells	6	T	
Great Titchfield	7	W	
Percy	7	T	
Newman	8	T	
Rathbone	9	T	
Berners	10	T	
Charlotte	11	T	
Margaret	12	W	
Great Portland	19	W	
Other Streets*	84	T,U,W,J,H,K,S,G,B,P,C	
Total	185		

The interview findings highlight that some of the Soho-based film companies started to move into Noho at the beginning of the 2000s: “People are moving to Noho, it is cheaper, with better building quality, bigger, and with half the rates, so why not?” (Int-S13). The main reasons for this shift were stated as the cheaper rents, and better quality buildings with bigger office space. In addition, being very close to Soho, Noho provides the same locational advantages as Soho does. Furthermore the interviewees

who are working in these companies located in Noho stated that they also still can access to their clients in Soho with a short walking distance: “There is definitely an increasing shift towards Noho; which I think is based purely on price; and Noho has the same advantages geographically” (Int-S14).

It is stated that being in Noho is easier and it provides a different experience. Still being in close proximity to Soho, people do not feel disadvantaged by not being in Soho, and they also get the benefit of trying something new with a different atmosphere, streetscape improvements and new urban redevelopments: “There are also new developments, retrofitting projects around... Recently a hotel moved in; a very big and glamorous boutique hotel. It started to bring more people and social life” (Int-S14).

“On Margaret Street there are a lot more production and digital agencies, internet advertising...It is nicer here in Noho, wider pavements...You try something different in Noho...Everybody wants to be there. We can always come back Soho” (Int-S13).

At this point it will be helpful to mention ownership patterns. One of the interviewees, who moved to Noho from Soho, highlighted the easier personal relations with the landlords in Noho, stating his experience of the differences between Noho and Soho landlords: “I deal directly with the landlord in Noho; it is very easy and more informal. In Soho most of the landowners own the entire area” (Int-S13). This might be related to the fact that there are major landowners in Soho such as Soho Estates, Shaftsbury PLC and The Crown Estate. These have established/institutionalised management structures, and manage their properties in a different way to the individual landowners, a point which will be discussed in Section 5.7.

The companies that moved to Noho want other companies to follow them, and would like to see more film companies locating in Noho. One of the post-production company managers, who was interviewed and also participated in the online questionnaire, emphasised this by adding a note to the questionnaire: “Move out of Soho! It is nicer north of Oxford Street” (Int-S13).

Another trend is moving out of the city centre due to the advantages of technology. A post-production company manager located in Noho stated that they might move from

Noho as well; not because of the problems but because of the benefits of technology that makes it possible to locate in the outskirts of London:

“It is more attractive to be in city but on the other hand, moving towards the outside is a growing trend...Maybe, a lot of people in the broadcast industry have moved towards the north; there is a media village in Kentish Town-NW5 which is attracting the broadcast companies...It is like a mini BBC. We did not think about moving from W1 in the last 10 years, but because of the connectivity it is possible now” (Int-S14).

Despite these upcoming locations, Soho still seems to house the main cluster of the film industry in London. Noho has developed as an alternative place to Soho but now, rather than being seen as two competing places, they seem to complement each other. A sound editor working in a post-production company in Noho stressed the importance of being in close proximity to Soho.

“Not being in Soho is our only real issue but we are still close; we or they can walk from Soho to us easily. This was very important when we chose the location...Environmental issues in Noho are not as problematic as in Soho...But again not a big consideration for us, we might go back to Soho” (Int-S15).

Another one in Soho stated that:

“We do not want to leave Soho. No not really. We might move but we try to stay in the centre somewhere around Soho. We don’t go to Shoreditch; because people, our clients come from the entire city, Shoreditch is far” (Int-S8).

Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009) stated that despite these tendencies towards re-location, Soho remains the core of the film industry in London. They highlighted the fact that companies located in North London (Camden, Kentish Town) or other nearby Boroughs also took advantage of easy access to Soho as part of their location decision criteria.

Sections 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 presented the socio-cultural history of Soho, exploring the emergence and the evolution of the film industry in Soho and also Noho, and focusing on the current spatial pattern of the film industry. The next sections (5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7) explore the factors relating to clustering and de-clustering (expansion-contraction) in Soho, with a particular focus on the location decision criteria of the film companies and also the factors affecting the daily operational processes of creative types working in these companies.

5.4 CLUSTERING PROCESS

The characteristics of urban place that encourage clustering of the film companies are analysed under these categories - physical, socio-cultural, perceptual and economic factors - based on the research analysis framework introduced in Chapter 3. The interview results confirm that the economic factors play an important role in the location decision of the companies. Eighty six per cent of the respondents selected economic factors as important or very important criteria in their location decision and 68% selected physical factors, ranked second. Perceptual and social factors were almost as equally important. Perhaps surprisingly, environmental factors are not as important for location decisions and only a third of respondents thought they were important. The table below is sorted according to rating average (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Clustering: Location Decision Criteria for Film Companies (Questionnaires: Soho Film People)

Clustering Factors (%)	Very Important	Important	Uncertain	Not Important	Not at all important	Rating Average	Response Rate
Economic	42	44	5	5	4	4.29	43
Physical	27	41	18	7	7	3.95	44
Perceptual	28	37	9	14	12	3.89	43
Social	25	41	11	14	9	3.85	44
Personal	26	35	12	16	12	3.79	43
Cultural	19	36	21	17	7	3.62	42
Environmental	7	25	25	32	11	3.08	44

Rating Scale: 5 is very important; 1 is not at all important

In the following sections the data related to these factors are presented according to the data collection and analyses frameworks introduced in Chapter 4.

5.4.1 PHYSICAL FACTORS

Although physical factors are part of a company's location decision criteria, the interviews highlight that not all the aspects of physical setting are equally important. It is possible to categorise these findings into three main themes; function (location and land use), urban form and visual qualities. Location and land use appear most important in the initial location decision, whereas factors related to urban form and visual characteristics of built environment contribute to perpetuating the clusters in

Soho. They are not necessarily the main concern when taking the initial location decision, as one of the interviewees stated: “I think the architecture and design is not super important to us it would be an advantage but it is not important” (Int-S15). So, what are these assets and to what extent are they important in retaining creative companies and types in Soho? And how do they contribute to the creation of new ideas and products?

The physical factors that the interviewees highlighted as factors that encourage film companies to cluster in Soho include *location factors*: proximity, centrality, accessibility and convenience; *land use factors*: mixed use, 24/7 city, film industry clusters, cultural establishments, cafe and drinking culture and local street shops; *urban form*: compactness/boundaries, walkability, intimacy, integrity and legibility; and finally *visual qualities*: built heritage, convergence of old and new, architectural diversity, small-scale buildings and landmarks.

The questionnaire results show the role played by proximity, porosity and walkability, as well as the diversity of different land uses. As for the visual factors, respondents selected the general streetscape as most appealing followed by built heritage rather than the innovative modern architecture. When the results were compared between location, land use and urban form, location factors are much more important than visual factors (Table 5.10). People value the ease of movement in Soho and see it as important for their work. These factors are discussed in detail below overlapping with the observations and cognitive maps.

Table 5.10. Clustering: Physical Factors (Questionnaires: Soho Film People)

Location and Land Use %		Urban Form %		Visual %	
Proximity	64	Alcoves/Alleys/Courtyards/Passages	39	None	25
Diversity	21	Easy to walk thorough	25	Streetscape	25
None	9	Legibility	16	Built Heritage	21
Density	5	Accessibility	11	Aesthetic Quality	11
Public	2	None	7	Landmarks	11
Greenery	0	Enclosure	2	Innovative	7

Response Count: 44 Film People

These factors as raised by the interviews and supported with cognitive mapping and observations are discussed below in detail.

Importance of Place and Location

Centrality and Physical Proximity

Being in the city centre and proximity to other people in the industry has the greatest impact on location decision. All the research participants highlight that Soho is very central and it is in close proximity to everything the companies need. Fundamentally, being in this central location makes it easier and quicker to get things done:

“Centrality is very important; 1st is location, 2nd is location, and 3rd is location; after that is the price and the mechanics of the actual building. However this office is a bad example of mechanics - but we are here anyhow; we manage to be eight people in this small basement office; It is small and intimate” (Int-S8).

As well as the time and distance benefits, being in the city centre contributes to their creative production process. All the interviewees highlight that they prefer to be in the city centre: “To be in the city centre is always better, it fosters creativity. You cannot create a creative district. It evolves over time” (Int-S2). Soho is surrounded by public transportation networks and its central location makes it very convenient for commuting. As these people are very busy, accessibility is their main concern and Soho is a good location for the staff: “It is very easy to get from any part of London; very useful for staff, very easy to get anywhere else. Nice environment, it is a lovely place to work” (Int-S9). Being in the centre has advantages in terms of film-making as it is easy to reach resources and easy to meet with the film crew: “The clients, producers that we work with prefer to shoot in the city which is not fake” (Int-S1).

Physical proximity operates three different levels: To Soho (accessibility), within Soho (proximity to other companies/activities/facilities) and proximity to other film industry clusters such as Hoxton, Shoreditch, Noho or Clerkenwell. Being in close proximity to other film-related institutions is important. A film production company manager who also organises the Raindance Film Festival stated that being in Soho is crucially important for them as it is very close by the art- and film-related institutions: “Most of the trade we do within one kilometre of here. We rarely have to travel more than 20 minutes” (Int-S8). As well as proximity to socio-cultural uses, most appreciate being in close proximity to other leisure activities, cafes and restaurants: “Actually, there are nice places to have lunches in the summer, in the churchyard or Wardour Street and there are nice small pubs close by” (Int-S9).

Location choice within Soho, especially being near Wardour Street, is also important. Film companies like to be around Wardour Street as the facilities such as screening rooms, Hammer House and Paramount House are close by. They even prefer to be on the west side of Wardour Street because of the problems due to Crossrail and congestion on the east side.

Importance of Office Space

As well as the urban pattern and the environment, the interior office space qualities, building qualities, the location of the office space within the building, the architectural style of the buildings also play a role in location decisions. Having an office space is important as “office use is very important to sustain the social relations” (Int-S9). Nearly all the participants emphasise the need for having a central office space: “We need space for data management, for face to face conversations and meetings. At home it is not enough to work with huge data. You need to be a team to discuss the things” (Int-S33).

“Although we are a Digital Asset Management Company we need space for communication between our clients...We need to have a lot of face to face communications. We still have lots of tape coming to our office. As I said we are operating more online, we get commercials submitted online but also we have commercials coming in tape or disk or finished or made in this area. If they cannot be uploaded, they just bring them in” (Int-S 11).

There are certain things that respondents look for in an office space. Rather than having many floors of office space they prefer to have one big horizontal, open plan flexible space. It is easier in terms of organising wiring cable network and transferring materials that need to be processed. The flexible office space is important as the companies grow or get smaller and consequently change the number of staff they employ. In addition, controlled light, high ceilings and a reliable power supply are stated as extremely important. For some, the interior organisation is more important than the location and the look/style of the building:

“Rather than the look of the buildings, some internal qualities are important, like light and windows...We were looking for large open plan office space and we found it here. It was in a good state to repair. It was just four walls when we came here. We put all the partitions...There are lots of buildings in Soho which are tall and narrow, you get a lot of floor space, but there are also different floors, and we did not want a building like that. We have one floor, open large space which is good” (Int-S11).

“When you walk in, the feeling is important; it should be spacious. Recently the facility houses- like Pepper and Envy; they built themselves very much like a boutique hotel. They sell themselves very

much on environment. If you look at their website, they have chandeliers, they have bars, and they have big armchairs. They want to encourage people to come to the office” (Int-S14).

Most of the big companies are located on the ground floor. Most of them have big windows that allow interaction and increase visibility. For post-production companies it is especially important to be on the ground floor as they have many materials going in and out. Runners carry DVDs, CDs or film reels from the sound office to an editing office. There are 97 post-production offices in Soho and 25 of them are located on the ground floor¹¹. Big and famous companies are also located on the ground floors:

“You find most post-production houses, big companies located on the ground floor of the buildings. Because, I suppose, it is the status and visibility, and because they have been in Soho many years. New companies when they come to London end up on the fourth, fifth floors. They cannot afford to be on the ground floor” (Int-S17).

Sound studios prefer to be at basement level. Post-production houses need controlled daylight. Post-production companies are more dependent on space while production companies are more moveable and flexible. Production companies employ people when they make a new film; they set up temporary teams when they produce a film. Usually they only have a core of three to five people working full-time in the company. Post-production companies are more permanent than production companies. This also contributes to the sustainability of the clusters:

“I think post-production companies are more permanent, post production has equipment, special rooms, the buildings are quiet important for them; whereas production companies have core staff and when they need they set up freelance teams, they are much more moveable, flexible, they can even work home-office, but post-production companies are more dependent on an office space”(Int-S14).

Land Use

Some of the land use activities seem more important than the others such as diversity, film clusters, cultural institutions, cafe and drinking culture and local shops, as presented below.

Diversity

Diversity, interaction, socialisation and creativity are directly related to each other. Being a mixed use area, Soho meets the different residential needs, business-office

¹¹ Rushes, Lipsync Post, MPC, Ascent, Smoke and Mirrors, Optimum Releasing, Molinare, Framestore, The Mill, Prime Focus, De la Lena, 20th Century Fox, Paramount Pictures, Goldcrest, The Farm Group, BBFC, Tiger Aspect, Evolution, Fin, Video Europe, Planet 10, Tapestry...

needs and visitor needs. Certain activities, facilities and amenities cater for creative types and are mentioned as advantages of being in Soho. In addition, diversity of land uses, diversity in population, ethnic background, architecture styles, street characteristics and the diversity of people living and working in Soho, contribute to its creativity by increasing interaction and chance encounter. Everything co-exists in Soho as shown in the diversity of land uses in Figure 5.16. There are local shops which serve residents, like butchers, food stores, barbers, bakeries and newsagents¹². There are also several family-run shops, cafes and restaurants located in Soho as well as chain corporate places.

“Some of it is interesting, I love it; there is some interesting architecture...I do not know, maybe there are lots of record shops; it is just an interesting place. It still has the markets; it's got lots of small shops, restaurants, very diverse, makes it very nice place for employees” (Int-S9).

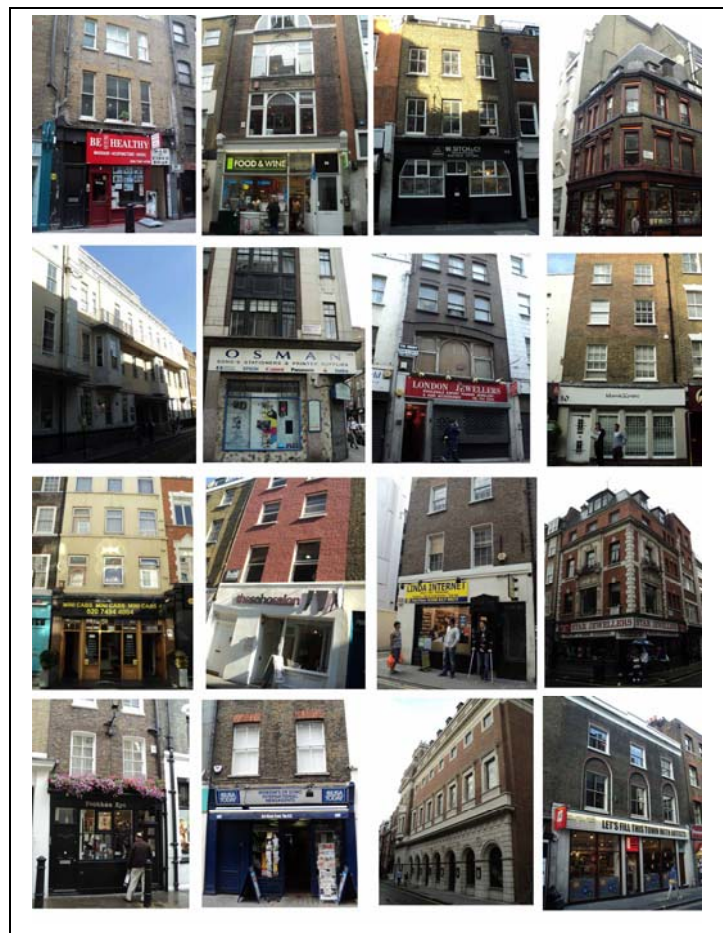


Figure 5.16 Diversity of Land use Activities in Soho

¹² Camisa, Lina Stores, the Algerian Coffee Shop and Patisserie Valerie, Berwick Street market, Peter Street Market, etc.

Centre of the Film Industry

As well as being a mixed-use area, Soho is highly associated in the minds of most interviewees with the image of a little-media village of London: “You feel that you are in London. It is old, like a small media village. I once worked in a media city; however I prefer little villages like Soho” (Int-S6). The locations of some the film companies are shown in Figure 5.17.



Figure 5.17 Some of the Film Companies Located in Soho

There are many facilities related to the film production process such as screening rooms where people can see their finished work in a proper cinema atmosphere, and there are many laboratories, post-production houses, sound studios, and animation companies, editing offices, visual effect studios, distribution companies, and studio chains. This agglomeration of different uses makes it a special creative cluster as shown by the clustering map in the previous Section 5.2. This is also emphasised by the interviewees: “Soho is the heart of the film industry; it is a perfect slot. Soho is the place of post-production; Wardour Street with Dean Street where all the post-houses first set up” (Int-S17)

“I think for film, post production, visual effects, Soho still is the place you want to be, the big companies are here; Technicolor have a facility in Pinewood, and they have facilities in Soho. All big distribution companies, editing, visual effect facilities are in Soho. And everybody wants to be close to this” (Int-S15)..

These film companies contribute to developing Soho’s cultural scene. There are several film festivals in Soho organised by Soho-based companies. For example, Rushes Soho Short Film festival and Raindance Film Festival are organised by a Soho-based film company.

Cafe Culture

There are many different styles of cafes, bars and restaurants in Soho, which contribute to its vibrant atmosphere with sandwich bars, wine bars, local espresso bars, breakfast clubs, patisseries/bakeries, cosmopolitan restaurants, tea houses and a variety of fast food, takeaway or coffee shops. There are also both local cafes and global chain cafes like Starbucks, Nero, Costa or EAT as some of them shown in Figure 5.18. As well as indoor cafes, there are also *pavement cafes* (Montgomery, 1997) which have outdoor seating. These cafes and especially the pavement cafes have special licensing regarding the number, shape, size and style of the tables and chairs spilled over onto the pavements according to the street management plans of the Westminster City Council (WCC, 2010).



Figure 5.18 Local and Global Cafes in Soho

Pubs, which are an inherent part of English culture, are also important in terms of *vertical drinking* (Roberts and Turner, 2005), and today there are 50 of them in Soho. They are very close to each other and are typically located, on the corners, at the intersections of the streets which increases visibility and chance encounters. People working in Soho companies can meet up in these nearby pubs; there is one in nearly every street. There are several pubs that mainly cater for film people such as the Endurance, Ship and Intrepid Fox. These pubs are the local hubs of the film industry where people feel part of the film community of Soho. They like the fact that they can bump into people at these pubs. Due to the smoking ban some people stand outside the pubs on the sidewalks. This increases interaction as people can see each other and stop by the pub for a short chat. This drinking culture enables people to mingle with each other as they can easily communicate with other people on the streets: “The drinking thing is usually important. You can meet with people, a huge social scene in pubs and bars. Thursday and Friday are very busy” (Int-S14). Some of the Soho pubs are shown in Figure 5.19.



Figure 5.19 Pubs and Drinking Culture

The overall cafe culture provides the atmosphere for interaction and a place for the exchange of ideas. The direct relation with the streets makes the pop-in/pop-out activity stronger and increases the possibility of chance encounters. The cafes and pubs, where they can easily interact with each other, are stated as the place of socialisation, job hunting, and job sharing, and thus as one of the advantages of being in Soho.

“Soho is a perfect location for a Friday night out. After work you can meet in a corner pub with your friends, have your dinner in a restaurant, can go to a nice calm wine house in a calm street and then can meet up with your friends in a corner pub have your drinks, and then can then move on to a jazz club to listen to live music and you can finish the night at a club or in a sex club” (Int-S37).

In addition to these findings from this research, it is important to mention that the contribution of café culture to a safe and vibrant public realm is also suggested by scholars in urban design literature (Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1989; Roberts and Turner, 2005; Tiesdell and Oc, 1998).

Cultural Establishments

Soho has been a place for the exhibition and performance of art, almost since it was first built, being the home for many theatres, shows, events and performances which have drawn artistic activity and artists. There are eight theatres, mainly located along Shaftsbury Avenue, five art galleries and one cinema and media centre with education and exhibition facilities in Soho. Leicester Square within five minutes walking distance hosts four large cinemas.

These land-use activities, such as cultural buildings, cafe culture and film clusters together with the diversity of other residential, business and visitor facilities, contribute to Soho's vibrant atmosphere. In addition, urban form and street pattern also contributes to this by facilitating efficiency and movement as explained below.

Urban Form/Street Pattern

The research findings reveal that certain assets of urban form contribute to clustering and creativity by increasing chance encounter, communication and interaction and efficiency. Interviewees highlight the importance of compactness, walkability and intimacy. The mapping confirms these findings as most of the companies cluster around the alleys, courtyards, passages and mews. As explained in detail in Section 5.2, location patterns, rather than being on the edges, companies tend to cluster in the inner parts of Soho especially around these alleyways. These various analyses together with mapping and observations suggest that the compact and grid urban pattern (Compactness), the permeable and porous street structure (walkability and connectivity), and the intimacy as a result of integrated small-scale architecture/fine grain urban pattern may possibly contribute to creativity and clustering.

Compactness and Grid Urban Pattern

Soho is an enclosed urban hub defined with certain boundaries and especially surrounded with larger buildings compared to the inner buildings. These boundaries increase the feeling of being in Soho by creating physical and also perceptual boundaries: "It is good to be in Soho. We define Soho as an area between Regent Street and Charing Cross Road and Oxford Street and Shaftsbury Avenue" (Int-S11).

The grid urban pattern with nearly 90 degree intersections is indicated as an advantage in terms of flow, giving direction and visibility. This is highlighted by some of the interviewees and also mapping of clusters and the cognitive maps. A resident who has been living in Soho for more than 30 years and is a founder of the Soho Society stresses the importance of the grid form of Soho: "It is the grid form of Soho which holds all these different specialisations together. Soho in itself has various sub-centres. It is the only grid form in London like New York; it is all about the grid form" (Int-S21).

The grid form of Soho eases movement and way-finding which is supported by the porous street pattern: “It is very easy to go from one company to another; easy to go out as well. It is quick. I like the dynamics of the area” (Int-S27). The images below, which are the cognitive maps of the research participants, emphasise the boundaries and the grid street pattern (Figure 5.20).

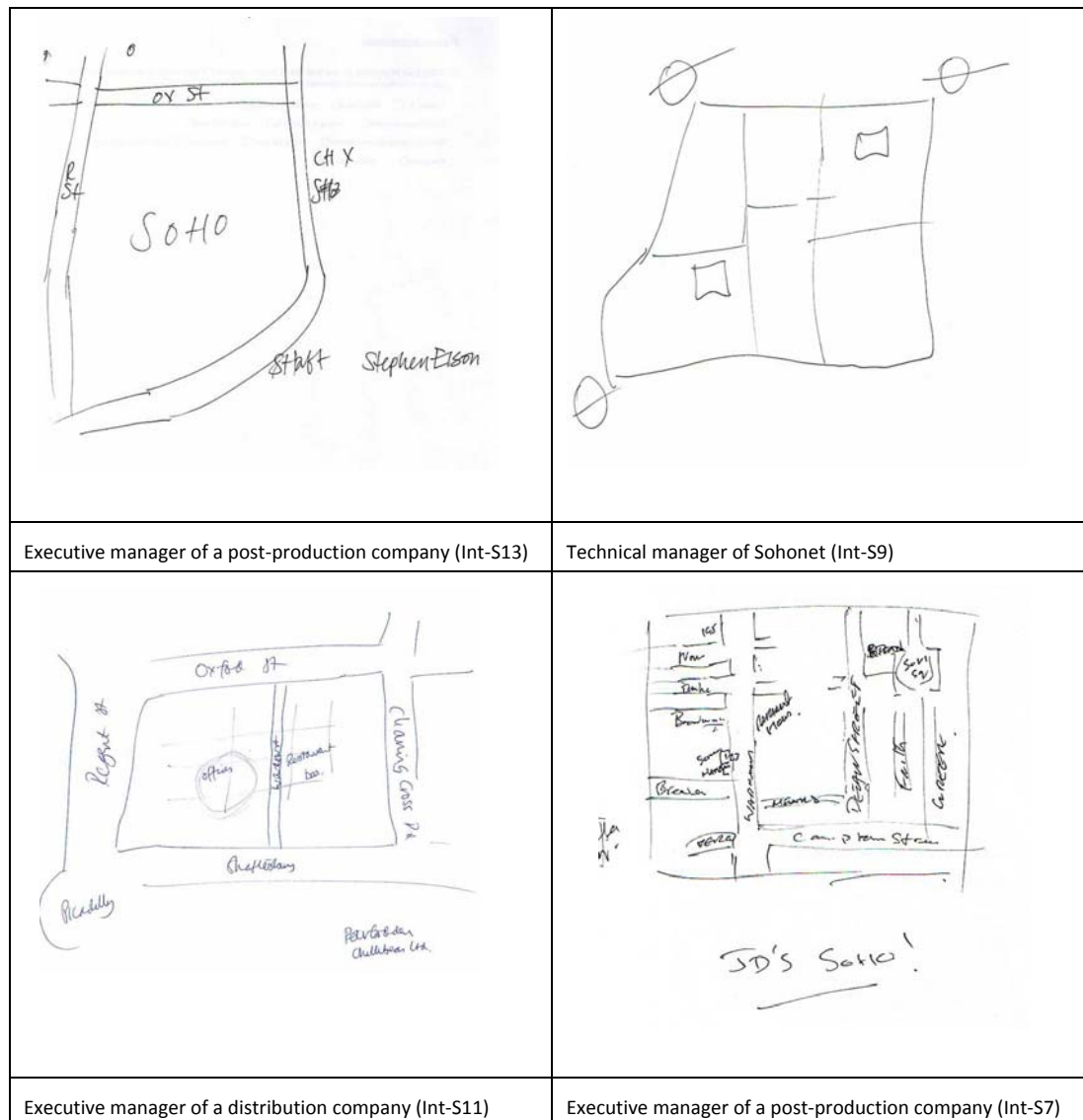


Figure 5.20. Cognitive maps: Boundaries of Soho and Grid Pattern

Porosity-Permeability allowing walkability

Soho's porous urban fabric contributes to permeability and so increases the performance of urban form, easing movement and walkability. There are many alternative routes that provide mobility choice through different urban elements suggesting short cuts such as little alleys, courtyards, mews, and lanes. This is a very

important factor in the efficiency and productivity of the companies which have strong collaborations with each other. These urban short cuts make it easy to walk through Soho, increasing the possibility of chance encounters with friends and colleagues:

“Being able to walk; it allows interaction; people bump into each other on the streets...Yes there are very many stimulants...Soho is a fantastic place. Very lively, I see all my clients; by the window, in front of the office or they just walk in. I think this is a very good spot for us. I see people just walking outside the door. It is like a community here. I have a very good team” (Int-S17).

In addition, as people can easily walk through, this also increases the familiarity with the place: “I think it is very easy to walk through in Soho. I have been here quite a long time so I know all the back ways” (Int-S9). The sketch illustrating the porosity of Soho is shown in Figure 5.21.



Figure 5.21 Porosity of Soho and Alternative Walking Routes

The street structure of Soho facilitates movement and saves time. It is easy to move around, especially for runners¹³ who deliver tapes, videos and CDs by hand from one

¹³ Runners are the people who carry tapes, DVDs or other material related to the post production of the film from one company to another. In other words, they could be described as the postmen of the film companies.

company to another: “It is very easy to walk through. When I first started, I used Google Earth, then after getting used to it, I just walked. It is very easy and quick; everything we need is here” (S-Int28). A film company manager who moved to Noho explained their concerns before moving when they were considering alternative locations: “When we were in Soho my partner said that ‘No, we cannot leave Soho, nobody will come and work with us if we move’; she is convinced that people need to be able to walk between the companies” (Int-S13). The cognitive maps presented in Figure 5.22 gives an idea of how creatives perceive the street structure of Soho.

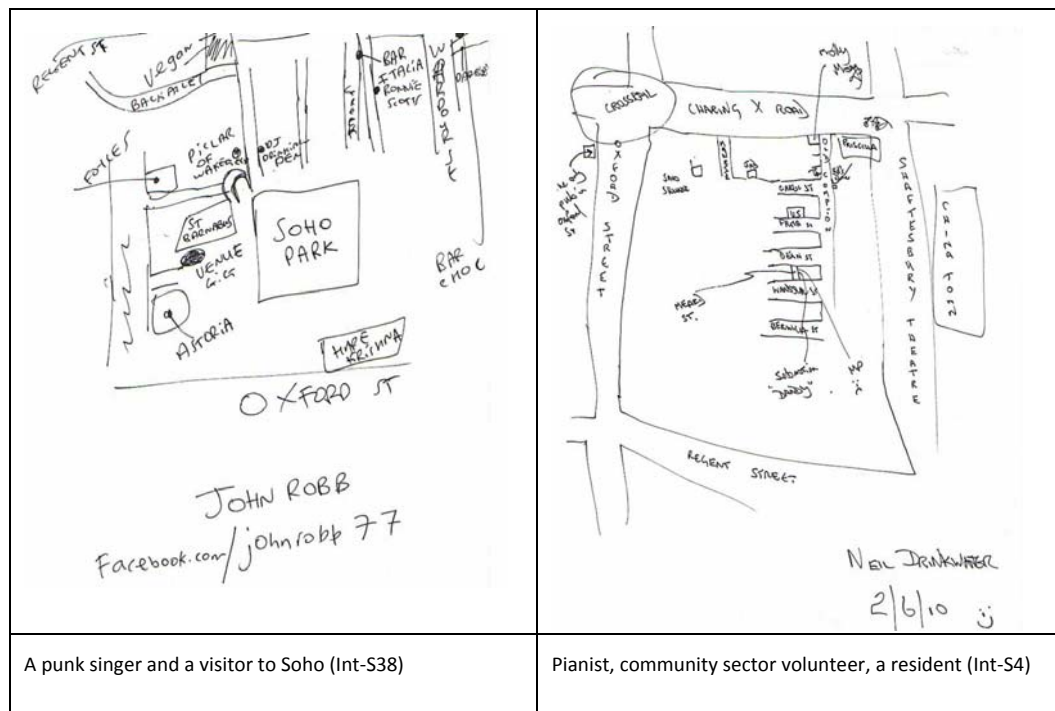


Figure 5.22. Cognitive Maps: Porous Street Structure

Some of the buildings have niches and alcoves on the ground floors which also contribute to the porosity of Soho. These alcoves which are one of the elements of interactive micro public spaces in Soho (see Chapter 7) foster creativity by enhancing interaction and facilitating the chance encounter. Some of the examples of these alcoves and niches are shown in Figure 5.23.

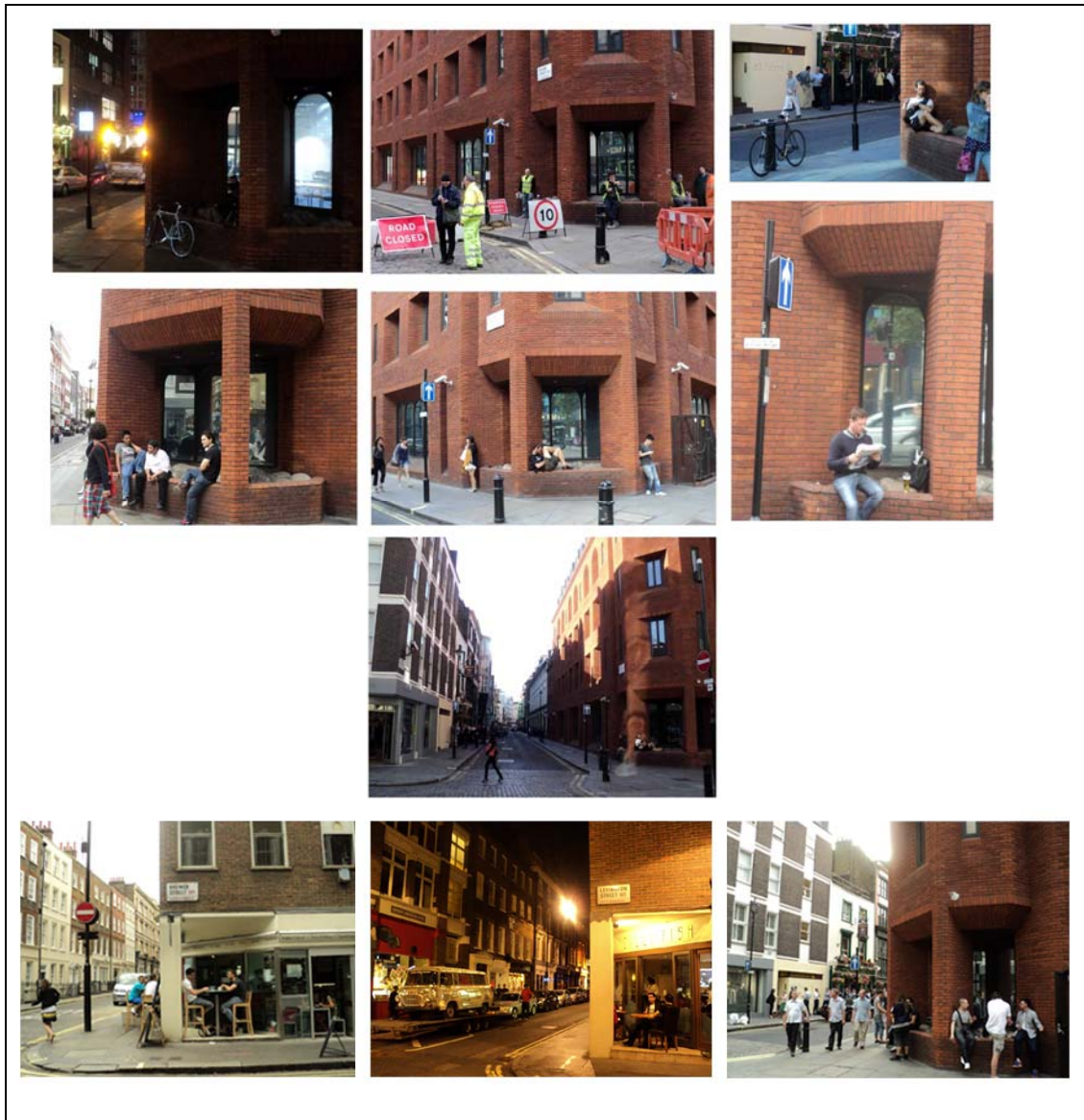


Figure 5.23 Urban Alcoves, Niche Cafes

Fine Grain Urban Pattern

The scale of the streets and the plots, with their long terraces of attached brick, stone, and stucco homes built around leafy squares, gives Soho a special character. Soho is depicted as one of the villages of London and interviewees highlight that they like this village character. The connectivity and scale of the streets and buildings is a positive factor on its recognition as being a village and community atmosphere: “Street pattern, definitely, it gives a little village atmosphere; a lot of people you know around” (Int-S12).

As well as the connectivity of the streets, large open public spaces are mentioned positively. These public spaces contribute to connectivity, being the central nodes

linking these streets. They also provide stable interaction and a place to relax. People buy their lunch from nearby takeaways or local markets, street markets or chain stores and take it to the park to eat. They organise parties here, read, relax, draw, paint, shoot movies and take photographs in these squares: “I usually come St Anne’s, for lunch because it has big tables and I can do my drawing here” (Int-S29). As well as increasing interaction they host/accommodate many public art and art-related city-wide events (Figure 5.24). In addition they are the landmarks of the area; Soho Square and Golden Square and the enclosed fabric of Soho are indicated as the major landmarks. People emphasised these places when they were asked to draw Soho, as shown in Figure 5.25.

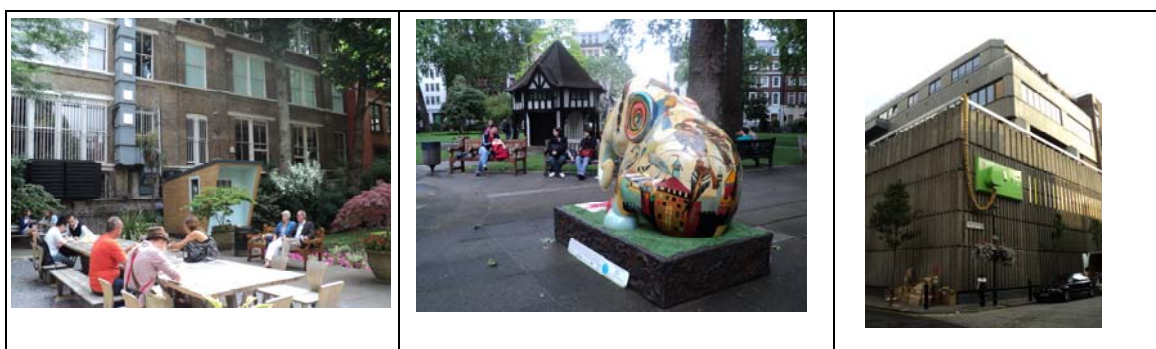
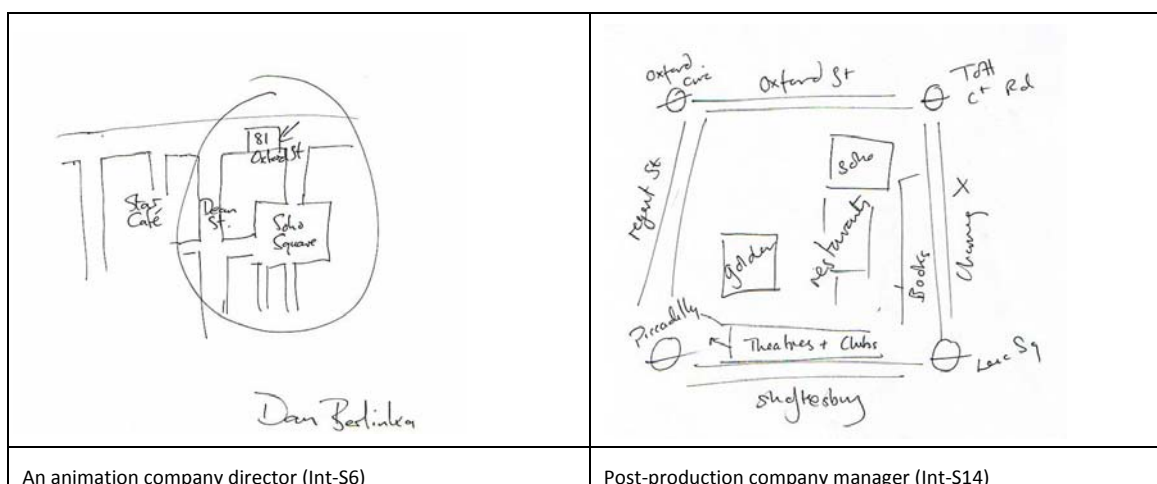


Figure 5.24 Public Places and Public Art



An animation company director (Int-S6)

Post-production company manager (Int-S14)

Figure 5.25 Cognitive Maps; Public Places

Co-existence of Vehicle and Pedestrian Movement

Nearly all the streets (except Carnaby Area) have a one-way traffic system, where car access runs parallel with pedestrian movement co-existing on the streets (Figure 5.26). The co-existence of the pedestrian and vehicle movement in Soho is the result of the

informal use of streets by pedestrians and vehicles, rather than being an outcome of a purposely introduced design framework. Further, it could be suggested that this co-existence of pedestrians and vehicles, as opposed to the traditional pedestrianisation, has a positive impact on clustering as it eases the movement and access to offices in terms of loading/unloading the equipment, accessing for transportation-related matters and film-making equipments. However, as well as having many advantages, car access on every street is not always good for film shooting:

“They do, but a lot of shooting that goes on in the streets of Soho would be at the weekends. You have to get traffic lock-off. If you are in a building or in a big hotel, it is easier, they have parking, and they have generators already locked in, they have all the facilities locked in there. If you pick a mansion house or a street then it is a matter of locking the site. You could not do this in Wardour Street because of the through traffic. It is difficult to do it. But that’s what London Film Commission sorts out for you” (Int-S17).

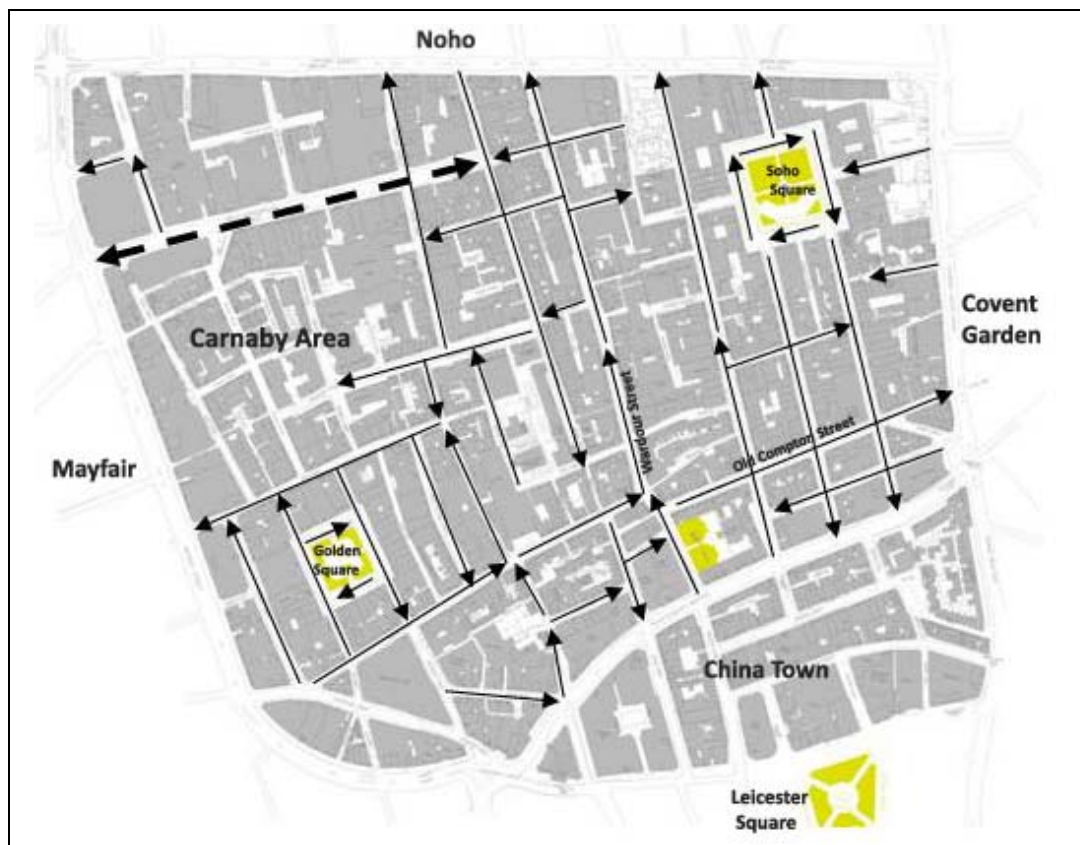


Figure 5.26 Traffic Access in Soho Streets

At this point brief mention must be made about the *shared space strategy* as coined by Hamilton-Baillie (2008). The term was introduced as a conscious design intervention beginning in the 1960s, especially in the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and the UK. The shared space strategy aims to facilitate “the integration of traffic into the public realm and social and cultural fabric of the built environment” (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008:

166). It introduces barrier-free approaches without any raised pavements and kerbs by “stripping out road signing, marking, kerbs and barriers” (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008: 169).

In this context, it is necessary to emphasise that Soho does not have a purposely introduced *shared space strategy* as Hamilton-Baillie (2008) termed. It has some parallels with the concept as the streets are shared informally by vehicles and pedestrians. However, Soho still has the raised pavements and the co-existence of pedestrians and traffic is not the result of a design intervention rather it is the consequences of pedestrians invading/spilling over streets due to narrow pavements and busy street life.

Visual Assets

The interviews reveal that people like general architectural characteristics but emphasise that these qualities do not play a primary role in terms of their location decision. Rather, they play a factor in retaining them in Soho. Architectural style and diversity, convergence of old and new, the streetscape (textures, materials, and scale) and landmarks are important in contributing to the feel of the place and in building people’s affection for and loyalty to Soho.

The historical heritage and old look of Soho is appreciated by many interviewees: “Do you know Atlantic House? Bottom of the Wardour Street right before the Leicester Square; it is an art-deco building with blue tiles...If you look up there is some wonderful history...I like built heritage” (Int-S12). As well as having an important built heritage, there are examples of innovative architecture in Soho such as Renzo Piano’s building on Broadwick street, Green House on Great Poulteney Street, The Salt House on Berwick Street, and the Shopping Centre on Hills Street Figure 5.27). The convergence of the historical heritage and the innovative architecture is highlighted as part of the richness of Soho:

“Soho is old but quirky... It is okay for Soho to have some brand new buildings. You can mix very modern new very corporate with these old buildings like this. Well, just down Broadwick street, Richard Roger’s building...New one; it is good but does not invite people in; and around the corner, the big building; it does not tell what they do there” (Int-S12).

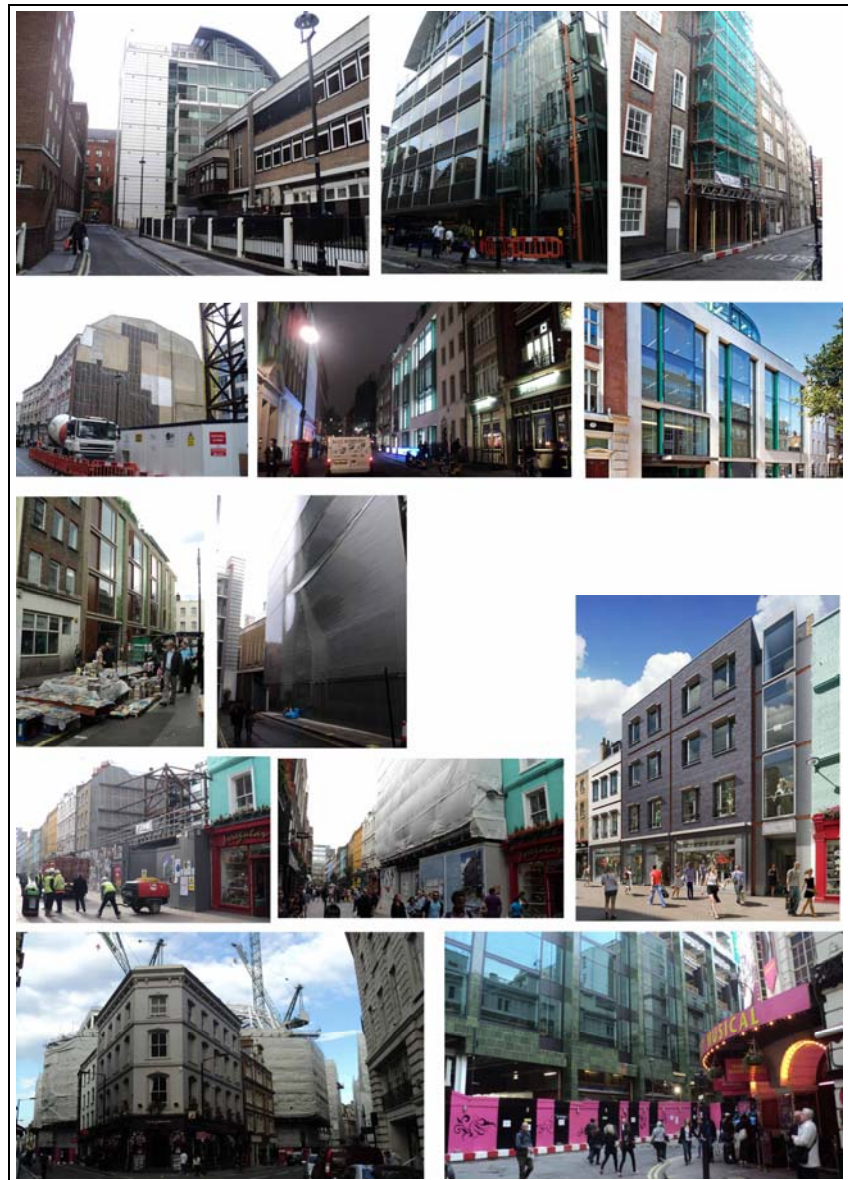


Figure 5.27 Innovative Architecture in Soho

Landmarks are also important, especially for the companies who have foreign clients. Locating near landmarks such as tube stations, squares or even well-known restaurants and cafes makes it easy to give directions. As most of the companies have international links it is very important for them to be able to easily give directions to their clients:

“I do think the environment is very important. But externally you can meet with people easily for drinks; you can tell people easily where you are. They are very small things, but important...Soho is very convenient and intimate with all media business...It offers little landmarks to actually say where you are. That's quite helpful” (Int-S14).

In conclusion, these findings suggest that the physical assets affect the location decision of the film companies and play an important role in retaining creative people

and influencing their daily working process. Juxtaposition of land-use activities with porous street structure and compact, grid urban pattern encourages interaction. There is also a positive relationship between fine grain urban pattern and sense of community which is also indicated as an important factor for creativity. This is discussed in detail in Section 5.4.2 below on socio-cultural factors.

5.4.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

As well as the physical factors discussed above, socio-cultural factors also contribute to Soho's creative environment. As discussed previously, the survey results demonstrate that socio-cultural and perceptual factors are equally important in location decision, after the physical and economic factors (Table 5.9, on page 162). The interviewees highlight the advantages of community (both film community and residential community), cosmopolitan life-style, talented and young people and tolerance. They also stress the importance of cafe culture in terms of the opportunities for face to face meetings, supporting each other, sharing sources and information and also intra-company relationships.

"There are two main reasons why people are in Soho: drinking and socialisation. There are many pubs around the corner. People like that everybody is in this place. Film/media crews like Soho. They like being in the Soho community; they like to be in the mix, being around, just being part of the crowd" (Int-S31).

The village atmosphere of Soho contributes to its creative environment encouraging interaction which is stated as providing a sense of belonging: "Interaction is important, you are not isolated" (Int-S2).

"I like engaging in local life in Soho. It has a village atmosphere. Because of this village atmosphere you feel familiar with people and the spaces. You know more people and consequently you interact, and share ideas and jobs" (Int-S12).

The questionnaires confirm these findings from the interviews. Most respondents appreciate that creative people live and work in the area, with 64% of them selecting 'creative people' as the most important social factor. They like working with these people from all around the world, from different ethnic backgrounds. Although tolerance is observed and perceived in Soho, questionnaire findings do not confirm this. It might be because tolerance is not an issue for them and they do not consider it

as a problem. In terms of the cultural factors, '24/7 city', 'entertainment life' and 'cafe culture' are selected as important, as demonstrated in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11. Clustering: Socio-Cultural Factors (Questionnaires: Soho Film People)

Social %		Cultural %	
Creative People	64	24/7 city	30
Cosmopolitan	18	Entertainment and Leisure	23
Social Interaction	9	Cafe Culture	21
None	5	Events Festivals	9
Village Atmosphere	5	None	7
Tolerance	0	Cultural Venues	7
		Public Art	5

Response Count: 44 Film People

Talent and Tolerance

Talent and tolerance were described as the important building blocks of constructing a creative place (Florida, 2002). In this context the talent pool in Soho and the perceived tolerance is also emphasised by the interviewees as one the socio-cultural assets of Soho. These two parameters together contribute to making the 'talent pool' of Soho: "Due to the many talented people working in and around Soho we can easily get what we look for; the employment and job opportunities are high" (Int-S12).

"Creative people come here and work. They also attract other people...This is the most attractive thing; that's why the business is located here as opposed to Shoreditch. They rather prefer to be here in the centre with the other creative people" (Int-S13).

On the other hand, as there are many talented, educated people working in the industry, people found it quite difficult to get a job in Soho as it is very competitive. In terms of tolerance, it is also one of the things which can be observed in Soho due to the conflicting land uses, such as the existence of a sex shop and primary school next to each other; or the co-existence of sex shop and book shop in the same store; or the co-existence of all sorts of people in the streets of Soho. Although film people do not necessarily state that tolerance is high in Soho, however it is clearly seen in the daily life of Soho. Street interviews, and interviews with film people and key informants highlight that people feel quite free in Soho, which can be interpreted that Soho is a tolerant place: "Most importantly, I feel free in Soho...It is a balance - a feel- to be here, difficult to define - might be the community feel, creative feel" (Int-S15). Another

one also stated that: “People do not judge you here. Soho lets you to be yourself; your soul is free here. It is the centre of film and it is like an enigma” (Int-S36).

Members-only clubs

As well as being part of a local community, being part of an exclusive community is stated as an important reason to be in Soho. There are around 10 members-only clubs in Soho. These establishments are not as crowded and busy as other public bars. So people can meet here, bring their friends and family and socialise in these clubs. The clubs even provide facilities like film screenings and showcases. So as well as being a private socialisation zone, the members can rent the facilities for work. Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009) also emphasised that, one these clubs Groucho Club opened in 1985, has been serving as an anchor point for the film people to network.

In conclusion, as well as the physical factors discussed in the previous Section 5.4.1, these socio-cultural assets, especially the community, are highlighted as an important asset of Soho. The physical setting is the back drop for the social life. In addition, the findings also suggest that these issues are related to the perceptual issues, as discussed below.

5.4.3 PERCEPTUAL FACTORS

People have different perceptions about Soho. Generally they are all positive; even the negative aspects of Soho are mentioned as part of their likes. These characteristics of Soho as raised by the interviewees and some of the descriptions interviews used are summarised in Table 5.12 below. One point is clear; that the overall atmosphere of Soho is appreciated and indicated as an important factor in being in Soho. In addition, even the negative features of Soho are perceived as a stimulant. People like the dirty, edgy, seedy feel of Soho: “It is central and dirty. I like the edgy, seedy dirty side of Soho; it is dirty in every way” (Int-S6). A sound designer also stated how a negative feature of Soho can be an advantage:

“The noise of a big city is actually something of an advantage for post-production facilities. Because it is the whole industry, it is a kind of an entertainment; that’s what Soho has, it has got kind of the energy...I think, I would not say it has been a disadvantage to have the noise; I think being here, having this kind of noise (...showing around) is negative noise; but the noise of hundreds of people walking up Wardour street is positive noise” (Int-S15).

Table 5.12. Clustering: Perceptual Factors (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Image	Media village/film and media-centric area A perfect slot for media companies Media-based Credibility - well known overseas
Civic pride	More important than being in any other place To live in Soho; to be part of Soho
Context	Context/atmosphere Very popular Old but quirky Connection with cinema and art Bohemian atmosphere A feel to be here Balance Nice environment Lovely/Exciting place to work All is positive Right place to be Soho is a good hub; perfect slot Edgy/Seedy/Shabby feel
Safety	Feeling safer than any other place
Creativity	Feels creative

Image and Credibility

Soho has been the media village of London since the 1900s. It is an image that has evolved over time. It has not been superimposed and it is not the result of any city-wide strategy. The image of Soho, as the media and film village of London, is very important for the location decision (primarily): “Image of Soho is always much more important than being in any other place” (Int-S2). Being in Soho is defined as good label, a badge for networking and getting new jobs, as having a Soho address is considered important in terms of the credibility of the company. It provides advantages when bidding for work. People appreciate being in Soho and the companies use this as a marketing tool:

“It is the credibility; you go overseas you talk with people- they ask where you are based; then you say ‘we are based in Soho-London’. It is like a badge way, it says, ‘you are okay, you are fine, go for it’. We are dependent of Soho, that’s why we are located here” (Int-S7).

Most of the companies advertise themselves on the web as being located in Soho, using phrases such as: “We are based in the heart of media village”; “A Soho based Post-Production facility”. As Pratt and Gornostaeva (2009) also highlighted having a

Soho address is crucially important. Most of them also use Soho maps showing the location of the companies. Some of the examples are shown in Figure 5.28.

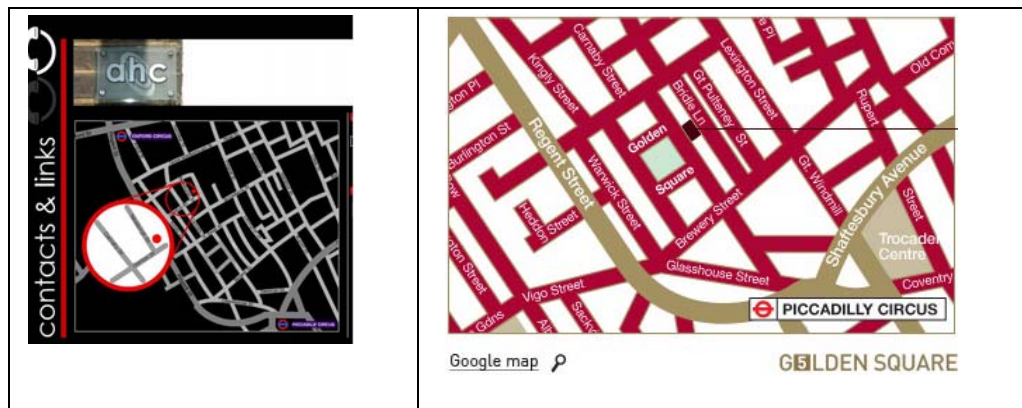


Figure 5.28 Image of Soho: Representation of Company's Locations on the Web Pages of the Companies

Civic Pride

People are proud of living and working in Soho. It is also important for them to sustain their links with Soho: "I think from my perspective Soho is one of the greatest parts of London, definitely more popular than others...I think the image and to some degree the civic pride is important; to be part of Soho is good" (Int-S15). This is mainly related to the perception of the workers. Civic pride might play a positive role in the sustainability of the clusters as people's perceptions of being in Soho is positive, and they clearly enjoy being in Soho. On the other hand, civic pride does not have a direct effect on a company's location decision.

The image of Soho related to the film and media industry is somewhat different for residents and businesses, however, as their perceptions of Soho differ to those of the film community. The interviews with key informants as well as the questionnaires with all three groups also reveal that they are unaware of the extent of the concentration of the film companies in Soho as shown in Figure 5.29. The questionnaires comprising all the research participants (film companies, residents and business) reveal that people are less aware of this aspect of Soho and are not so sure about this media image. Most of them indicated that they are not sure (44%) whether the number of the film companies is increasing or decreasing, and 22% of them thought that it is actually decreasing (Figure 5.29).

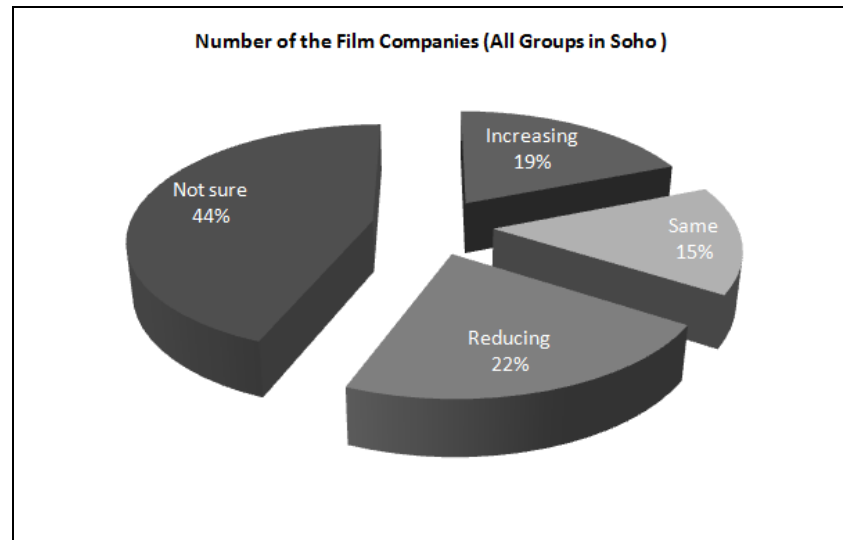


Figure 5.29. The Media-image of Soho: The Number of the Film Companies (Questionnaires All Groups)

The lack of public awareness might be related to marketing strategies of the council. One of the research publications about creative industries also suggests that the council should develop strategies towards marketing the district (WCC, 2007). Film people also complain about the lack of relevant strategies to meet their needs.

These issues discussed above highlight that the image of Soho is its strong asset, which is a very important parameter of a location decision. As discussed below the image is also part of its economic assets.

5.4.4 ECONOMIC FACTORS

It is possible to argue that being in Soho provides economic benefits. All these issues discussed above in terms of physical, socio-cultural and perceptual assets mainly contribute to their job growth and efficiency. In particular, the advantages of co-location, walkability, not being away from the main film core and its media village image, are of economic benefit: "Not being in Soho is expensive; even sometimes just being in Soho wins" (Int-S2). The economic benefits of being in Soho highlighted by the interviewees are summarised in Table 5.13, such as co-location, image, job growth, investment opportunities, filming process and the advantages of technical infrastructure (Sohonet). Questionnaires also confirm that clusters of creative industries and the job opportunities are most valued by the participants as the economic benefits of being in Soho (Table 5.14).

Table 5.13. Clustering: Economic Factors (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Co-Location	Record companies	Long-established and large-scale Companies
	Production houses	Collaboration with other companies
	Post-production houses	Sharing resources
	Animation company	Clients are based in Soho
	Studio chains	Office visits/meetings
	Editing offices	Proximity to other facilities
	Visual effect studios	Group companies/Other branches in Soho
	Distribution companies	
	Sound studios	
	Suppliers	
	Laboratories	
Image	Centre of the film Industry	Long years-established film centre
	Heart of the film industry	Wardour Street
	Soho still is the place	
Job Growth	Increase in number of productions	
	Confidence: wins the job like Burbank-Los Angeles	
	Makes the difference	
	Employment opportunities	
	Convenient for small industry	
Property Investment	Good for investment in property	
Filming-Procedure	London is good for filming/Legislative Framework	
Technology	Internet connectivity (Sohonet)	

Table 5.14. Clustering: Economic Factors (Questionnaires: Soho Film People)

Economic Assets	(%)
Job Opportunities	32
Clusters of Creative Industries	32
Talent	27
Technology/Networks	5
Property/Land Values	2
None	2
Affordability	0

Response Count: 44 Film People

Co-Location

Companies and individuals collaborate with each other, and share jobs and resources. A film laboratory manager stated how his company works with other post-production companies:

“So what we do is, we are a facility helping them to complete the process. All these companies are based in London. They are working purely in digital format. The feature film side, like LipSynct-Post and Molinare, they need film laboratories to finish the process. They are good clients of us...I find Soho a really exciting place to work. All your clients are always based around or in Soho. The studios, the chains dramatically increased I think in the last 4 years” (Int-S17).

Co-location helps in job growth, brings confidence and wins the job. A post-production company manager stated that Soho is like Burbank, Los Angeles:

“We started in New Molten which is absolutely nowhere. We went to Barnes which is a lovely place to work, by the river; but no media thing there. Then we moved into Soho and within a year or two our business grew by 30 per cent; absolutely, we got really key clients like Warner Brothers. If you are in Soho it is a badge you wear - and people say ‘Ooh! You are in Soho’...People rely on you” (Int-S7).

As there are both large and small-scale companies, in relation to production, post production and distribution, people can get any service they need within Soho. “Soho works as a *one-stop shop*; if you come to Soho you can have all your work done” (Int-S14). The agglomeration of these different services increases the quality of jobs as each process has been done in a specialist house: “Economically good; because you are finding facilities you need to use right outside the door, so you do not have to travel an hour to go somewhere” (Int-S12). As well as small-scale companies that can share the jobs, the location of large-scale distribution companies is especially important. Large-scale companies provide the confidence: “Especially, during the last 30 years companies have been in Soho; big companies attracted others”(Int-S15).

Technology

It is not only the clusters but also the networks in Soho that makes it a valuable location. As well as being the location of film clusters, Soho is networked with a strong fibre optics network called Sohonet. Established in 1995, below ground, fibre optics connect the Soho media and post-production community to Pinewood and Shepperton Studios, and to other major production centres in Rome, New York City, Los Angeles, Sydney and Wellington and New Zealand (See Section 5.4 for detailed explanation of Sohonet).

“We have to have Sohonet. We are moving big files around all the time. We forward sections of films, never ship the whole film in one go because of security reasons...We got delivery mediums here like Smart Jordan...Technology is absolutely important; but meeting with people is always gonna be important. But the speed of technology is absolutely vital” (Int-S7).

Technology plays a crucial role in sustaining the clusters and improving their job quality making it faster and consequently providing economic advantages. Having the necessary networks and technology is supportive in sustaining the creative clusters in Soho: “I think the most interesting thing about Soho is the technological revolution” (Int-S13).

“Technology is a great advantage; wherever I am, I can compose/ design something and send it via email/upload it to my server. But when it comes to winning business, face-to-face meetings are crucial” (Int-S3).

To this point the clustering process is discussed focusing on the factors affecting the location decision of the film companies. Below, the problems of being in Soho which are potential factors on de-clustering are presented following the same structure as above.

5.5 FACTORS ON DE-CLUSTERING

Although there are strong positive drivers towards clustering there are some problems that may be factors in de-clustering, i.e. companies and creative types leaving Soho. In this section these issues are discussed as raised by the interviewees, and also in the questionnaires with the film people.

Physical Problems

The problems can be classified into five groups: location, land use, street network, building quality and place management issues. Of these, building quality, particularly internal space characteristics, seem the most specific to Soho. As well as some site (Soho) specific problems, the problems appear to be general ones related to being in a city centre such as noise, waste management, dirt and congestion (Table 5.15).

Table 5.15. De-Clustering: Physical Problems of Soho (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Location	Land Use	Street Network	Building Quality	Place Management
-Travelling distance-- Long daily commute	-Congestion* -Mixed use -Sex establishments (positive and negative)	-Narrow streets/Car parking -Many similar streets; confusing -Lack of greenery	-Reliable power supply -Old buildings with an old infrastructure -No lifts -Lack of enough office space -Lack of flexible office space	-Smoking ban (positive and negative) -No support from municipality towards Creative Industries -Rubbish collection -Heritage is knocked down -Crossrail - shaking the ground -Late night noise -Dirt -More corporate place -Cafe culture has gone -Traffic routes changed - confusion -Through traffic - Shared space access is not good for filmmaking

*Congestion is not just the result of land uses; it is the result of a combination of many different factors. However it is grouped under the land uses column.

The questionnaire results highlight that the problems are mostly related to the place management issues such as congestion, high rents and dirt (around 50%). It is difficult to categorise these problems as they are the result of the combination of socio-spatial processes. In terms of physical factors, narrow streets (19%), problems related to building quality such as insufficient power supply (14%), and insufficient office space (14%) are mentioned by a few as shown in Table 5.16.

Long-distance Commute

The majority of the people interviewed do not live in Soho which is stated as one of the concerns due to the daily long-distance commutes:

“I have been doing this journey from my home nearly for 15-20 years. It makes it a long day, and if I am experiencing this problem, my staff, colleagues might experience the same thing. Commuting for a long time is absolutely the disadvantage” (Int-S7).

Table 5.16. The Negative Features of Soho (Questionnaires: Soho Film People)

Negative Issues	Film People %
Congestion	58
High rents	56
Dirt	49
Building works	37
Noise	26
Tourists	23
Narrow Streets/parking	19
Insufficient power supply	14
Insufficient office space	14
Alcohol consumption	14
Poor quality buildings	14
Chaos	12
Sex establishments	9
Feeling unsafe	7
Nothing (I like everything about Soho)	7
Diversity	0
I prefer not to answer	0

Total response: 44 Film People

Congestion

Soho is a very central location with many tourist attractions and shopping places. It is a stopover place for shoppers, theatregoers and tourists, and an attraction point for any type of visitors. Although the inner streets of Soho are relatively quiet compared to the four main streets surrounding it, Soho is affected by this pedestrian movement as people walk into Soho, pass by, stop to have a break after shopping, or go to pre-theatre meals, as there are many local shops, different cafes, restaurants and bars. This activity level in Soho, based on consumption, creates conflicts and problems with the needs of residents and businesses in the area. Film people and residents complain about congestion and the crowds: "Soho is in decline, Oxford Street is terrible, lots of people all around are coming into Soho" (Int-S13).

Sex Establishments

As well as leisure activities that create congestion, some interviews highlight problems posed by the sex establishments in Soho that are clustered around Peter Street, Rupert Street, Berwick and Brewer Street. As well as creativity and art, Soho has also been associated with the sex-related business since the seventeenth century (Collins, 2004;

Mort, 1995). As well as the positive image, there is a negative image of Soho that is related with sex establishments and the area's red light district. Although some of the creatives appreciate the seedy, shabby and edgy side of Soho, others do not like the night life or the overall sex-related aspect of the area. (See Chapter 7 for the further discussion).

Street Network

As discussed above, street network was stated as one of the assets of Soho in terms of encouraging the movement, and building the image and ease of walkability; however it is also stated as one of the problems. Although street parking is not common in Soho, narrow streets might be a problem in terms of access to the buildings when vehicles need to load/unload. Besides, the street pattern is perceived as confusing as streets are similar to each other with similar building heights and street widths. As there is no main street, the street layout is non-hierarchic. A post-production company manager said that it could be confusing, especially for the beginner runners¹⁴:

"I know Soho very well since I have been working here for 20 years. When we get new runners they are quiet confused in Soho. They actually enjoy the area and are quite excited to be in the West End for work rather than just for entertainment. But they are definitely confused by the little alleyways; there are many similar streets, very confusing. They find it old fashioned" (Int-S14).

Office Space

In terms of infrastructure, electricity and power supply, this old, historical fabric of Soho does not always answer the needs of a film company as they are highly based on technology and have many technical types of equipments. A post-production company worker stated that one of the big companies' locating in Soho established a power centre in the Docklands and they are providing their own energy needs from this remote distance by cables:

"The problem about the buildings here is lack of energy supply. We are working with huge data and need to transfer this data. Framestore make a connection with Canary Wharf which is a self-investment. They are using the central electricity" (Int-S33).

"Infrastructure is very much piecemeal, internet and the telephones are old, and it needs to be developed, they do not put something new in, always growing and mending rather than putting in new...They are old buildings; they are not at all modern, we do not have enough electricity power,

¹⁴ People who carry the film materials to be processed within post-production companies

we do not have proper lines coming into them, there is no air conditioning, there are no lifts. But it was not important in our location decision” (Int-S12).

The office space requirements also change when the company grows or shrinks due to technological advances or fragmentation of the company, which makes it a necessity to have flexible office space: “They grew, they got bigger, and they couldn’t find a place in Soho to settle, or the other way, they got smaller and the place was too big for them. They moved away mostly because of financial problems; money and size matters” (Int-S2).

Crossrail

As well as waste management, noise, sex establishments, dirt and crowds, the Crossrail Project is the main thing which most of the company managers complain about. Crossrail shakes the ground and affects the technical equipment:

“We were in Great Chapel Street till last year, but the building was demolished and then we had to leave due to the Crossrail. So we were forced to find another place. There will be heavy earth moving going on for the next few years on the East side of Soho; it will be a construction site. We sublet at the moment for a five-year lease. We are very happy here; we have got lots of room to grow. No plan to move” (Int-S11).

“I think Crossrail is going to destroy the area...It would enliven Soho but while it is being built it is a pain. We got major works going on. It is very noisy, lots of businesses have gone from Soho because they have been compulsorily purchased...There was a pub in Dean Street called Bath House - a lovely pub; they knocked it down. It was culturally quite important; it had a lot of music history...I think ultimately Crossrail will do the district good but getting there is gonna be painful” (Int-S7).

Socio-Cultural and Perceptual Problems

Socio-cultural problems seem to be less important and not very Soho-specific. They are related to the problems that all major cities face such as the loss of locality, being a money-based corporate place and having crime-, drugs- and prostitution-related problems. Socio-cultural, perceptual problems raised by the interviewees are summarised in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17. De-Clustering: Socio-Cultural and Perceptual Problems of Soho (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Problems
Loss of locality
Crime-burglary
Cafe culture changed (smoking ban and busy life)
Less time to socialise
Less time to have longer lunches
Money-driven - money place
Corporate business place
More digital; artistic scene has gone
Not good place for families to bring up children
Not very safe

There are also negative perceptions about the cafe culture. Some people think that cafe culture is changing. As people are busy they have less time for longer lunches. The smoking ban might have had a negative effect on their socialising: “People are less inclined to drink during lunch which is an old Soho tradition which is more enjoyable; now, people are more focused on their job” (Int-S14).

“Business styles, culture is changing; you don’t go for big buzzy lunches anymore. You go for a coffee or a pint; you are not drinking wine and relaxing with people. In the old days it used to be relationships between people, now I think it is much more financial, no relationship now - it is just business now” (Int-S7).

Economic Problems

The interviewees did not complain much about the problems regarding economic issues. They raised the issues regarding rent; some also stated that high rents are not a key factor in de-clustering due to the economic benefits just gained by being in Soho. As seen in (Table 5.16 on page 179) high rents were rated were rated second highest in terms of the problems of Soho. The interviewees emphasised however that this is not one of their main concerns, and that they are willing to tolerate this problem as Soho provides them with many advantages. In addition, it is also highlighted that the prices are nearly the same as those in Shoreditch, Hoxton and London Bridge (Int-S2). On the other hand it is also emphasised that the prices have come down compared to what they were in the 1990s (Int-S12).

Although there are some problems as presented above, companies tend to stay in Soho and tolerate the problems as they do not want to leave. On the other hand,

those who do leave are defined as 'reluctant leavers' in the report of a private research company (JLL, 2010). The interviews in Soho highlighted this point: "People tend to move but can't leave Soho" (Int-S14).

"I don't see that people are moving out; I would say the same, as it has always been the centre of the film industry...I think there are also facilities that have been built out of Soho, providing cheaper rents, and more space and better facilities. However Soho is still the place to be" (Int-S15).

Up to this point, both the clustering process and the factors affecting de-clustering are presented based on the interviews with film people in particular. The results revealed that physical factors play an important role when film companies are making a location decision, whether as a primary or secondary factor. In addition, one of the aims is to understand the role of urban space on an individual's inspiration process, as discussed below.

5.6 INDIVIDUAL CREATIVITY AND URBAN PLACE

This section focuses on the other dimension of creativity regarding how individuals are inspired through the place, how they come up with new ideas and how Soho contributes to their daily working process. The discussion is structured into two; as the sources of the ideas and the factors affecting the creativity process.

Sources of Creativity

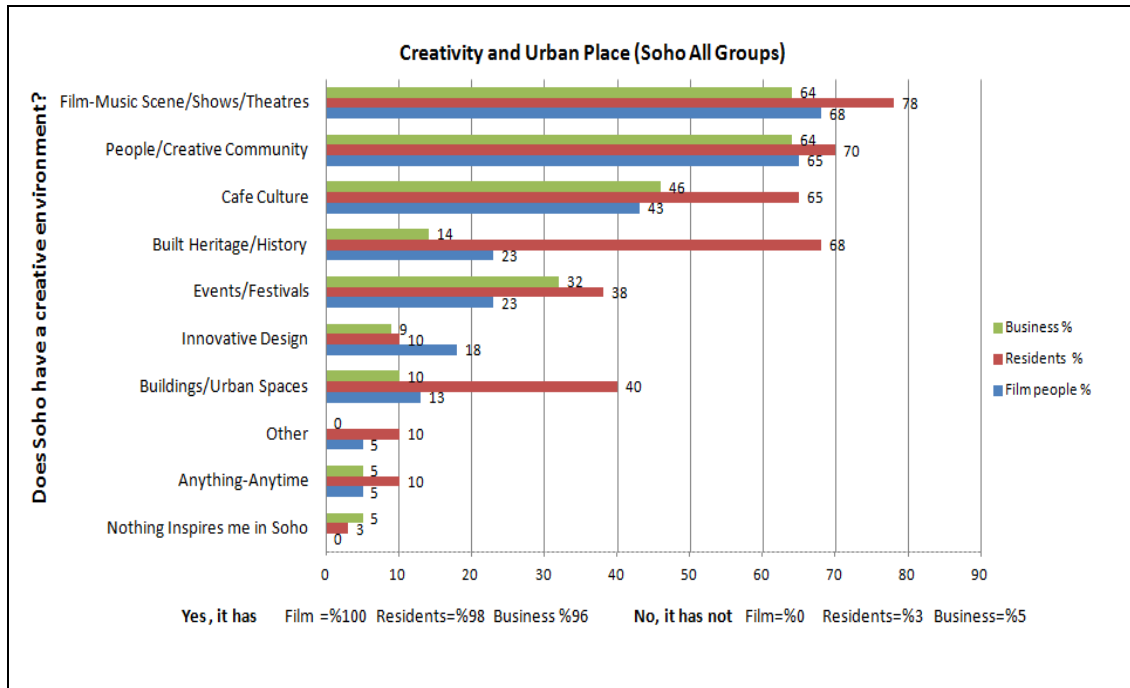
The interviewees highlight that they are mostly inspired by the atmosphere of Soho. It is the overall context of Soho that makes a contribution to their working process. In addition, questionnaires supported the fact that people are inspired by each other. Mainly socialisation, interaction, communication and co-location seem to have a direct positive effect on their working process. Table 5.18 summarises the issues that interviewees raised.

Table 5.18. Creativity and Urban Place (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Physical	London
	Convergence of old and new
	Different architectural styles
	Quirky buildings
	Nice small restaurants
	Pubs
	Art shops; local shops; record shops
	Cafe Culture
	Urban Buzz
	Environment/Atmosphere
Socio-Cultural	Locality
	Creative people
	History
	Various type of marginal people
	Cosmopolitan life
	Multi-ethnic population
	Interaction - not being isolated
	Being in contact with other creative people
	Community/people
Perceptual	Artistic scene
	There is something in the air

Figure 5.30 below shows the results based on the perceptions of film people, the residents and the businesses; these demonstrate that Soho has a creative atmosphere and that the film and music scene, creative people and cafe culture have the greatest effect on this. None of the groups values buildings/urban spaces as much as film-music scene and theatres, but built heritage is valued by residents (ranked third with 68%) by film people (ranked fourth with 23% sharing the same ranking with events/festivals), and by business (ranked fifth with 14%). Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that the findings are similar for the three groups. It only appears that residents value buildings/urban space and the built heritage more than the film people do.

Figure 5.30 Creativity and Urban Place (Questionnaires: Soho All Groups)



In addition to these findings, city living, people, urban place, galleries and theatres, and the atmosphere of Soho are highlighted as important. In the following section quotes supporting this are presented in Table 5.19 and Table 5.20.

Table 5.19 Sources of Creativity-Quotes of the Film People (Interviews: Soho Film People)

CITY LIVING	
Stimulates senses	<p>"There is a buzz of creativity going on in the city as lots of people pass through; in smaller towns there isn't that much to see and hear and do creatively which is why everyone moves to the city" (Int-S3).</p> <p>"Soho feels creative, lively. You know you are in London" (Int-S6).</p>
Convenient	<p>"I do not think that just being in London fosters creativity but it is definitely convenient" (Int-S1).</p>
Contrast	<p>"I think it is everything about Soho. Quirky buildings, a difference of mix of corporate and leftic-centre, bars, restaurants, the activity" (Int-S15).</p> <p>"Soho is very inspirational, it is hell and heaven; there are different vibrations here. People are very different; it is like black and white. Listen people they all have different rhythms. Shoreditch is also good, it is better and it is quite. I discovered Soho due to record shops. I love music. London is not an easy place to live; it is money-centred" (Int-S34)</p>
URBAN PLACE	
Buildings	<p>"I like the architecture here, I am inspired by Soho, I like the buildings around Gerard Street, especially the details on the facades" (Int-S35).</p>
Office environment	<p>"The visual aspect is created behind the closed doors; so not as much outside on the street, but rather inside of the companies. A safe, secure, trusting and appreciating atmosphere of talent is active behind the closed doors. Almost like a private club of talented individuals, hard to get in initially, but highly productive" (Int-S33).</p>

Galleries/Theatres	"Being able to go to galleries and shows and be inspired by other people's creative work 24/7" (Int-S3).
History and tradition of place	"So this area has always been quite creative and quite theatrical; I guess because there are many theatres around and there used to be lots of theatres here - centre of entertainment since 1800s and so forth; maybe that was the reason why creative people are drawn here, it is just evolved; down the Shaftesbury is theatre land; further media came; where all the people come to that tradition" (Int-S7).
PEOPLE	
Interaction	"Being in contact with other creative people inspires me" (Int-S3).
	"You never come up with ideas by yourself; you need to be inspired by other stuff; because you bump into people" (Int-S9).
Ability of place	"I think the ability to meet and get creative talent (Int-S12).
	"I would say Soho is a creative hub of creativity; people are gravitated by Soho...They come to Soho, it helps creativity" (Int-S7).
Surprises and diversity of people	"I think the attraction for me - I am Canadian originally - is Soho itself; you never know what to expect when you go out...There is something about the diversity of people in this area that sparks" (Int-S8).
Creative people	"It is a very creative area; lots of creative people working in the area, lots of different buildings" (Int-S9).
	"From our perspective, we are doing creative work. I think most interestingly it is people" (Int-S15).
Boiling core of creative people	"It is part of people definitely; inspired by different business requirements...Our clients even push us to be more creative: They say "I need to do this in a different way"; then we have to respond to that. So definitely inspired by people, I do not think inspired by Soho...No, I think, Soho is this place where we are, I think it is a sort of boiling core of creative people, but that it is the people that makes the industry not necessarily the buildings or streets" (Int-S7).
Community and Good Mood	"Not particularly if you are creative, you are creative anywhere even on the tube or in a traffic jam. You have the ideas everywhere but being part of the community puts you in a good mood" (Int-S6).
ATMOSPHERE/CONTEXT	
Tradition	"I do; Soho also traditionally has been the creative centre" (Int-S11)
Atmosphere of Place	"We are not a creative company in terms of coming up with new ideas; we are more innovation-based; however Soho helps, the atmosphere of the place helps" (Int-S11).
Creative Village	"I think there is an atmosphere of creativity in Soho...You meet different people, you see different things, and people are friendlier; more is going on, it is very buzzy...Soho is a village, a creative village" (Int-S12).
Artistic Scene	"People and the artistic scene are very important for creativity. Shops and cafes and bars are really important" (Int-S13).
Feeling Creative	"I feel creative, that's everything. You got the stimulus for art. You got all the theatres, all cinemas, loads of different architectural styles. And the business is going in those buildings; good transport links; diversity is getting more important" (Int-S14).
Community/Creative Feel	"There is a community feel, creative feel, I think, it is difficult to define" (Int-S15).

Creativity Process

Soho stimulates their working process in different ways. These factors are summarised in Table 5.20. Talking with friends, communication-discussion-participation, collective work-collaboration-sharing, and socialisation, to be in touch with other creative people, are highlighted.

Table 5.20 Creativity Process-Quotes of the Film People (Interviews: Soho Film People)

Gradually evolves	<p>"You cannot create a creative village; you can get a creative village and call it creative community" (Int-S2).</p> <p>"Yes, certainly I think Soho. I think the best media centres are the ones that grow up naturally like Soho, maybe Shoreditch, Hoxton, Clerkenwell; they also grew naturally" (Int-S11).</p> <p>"I think it would have been organic...Very little town planning, instead they happen organically. Couple of big companies move in before you know it... and then everyone wants to be close to it because it is where the activity is...that's what happened in Soho" (Int-S15).</p>
Anywhere anytime	"I can feel creative anywhere, it changes, anywhere" (Int-S12).
Serendipity	"It is serendipity, it is like the centre of the creative community, meeting place of the creative community in Soho" (Int-S6).

Overall, it is possible to argue that it is the complexity of all these factors which contributes to clustering and creativity. The complexity of Soho is illustrated by a long-standing resident and an activist who has strong spatial and social relations with Soho. This cognitive map of Soho highlights the memorable locations, venues where they used to socialise, and important streets and squares of Soho (Figure 5.31 on page 188).

These factors discussed in Sections 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 explored the clustering process of the film companies and also the dynamic relationships between creativity and urban place to explain urban creativity and individual creativity. Overall it is suggested that all these factors are the criteria for defining the quality of place in Soho. In addition, the research findings suggest that quality of place in Soho is also directly related to the development process of Soho which is discussed in Section 5.7 below.

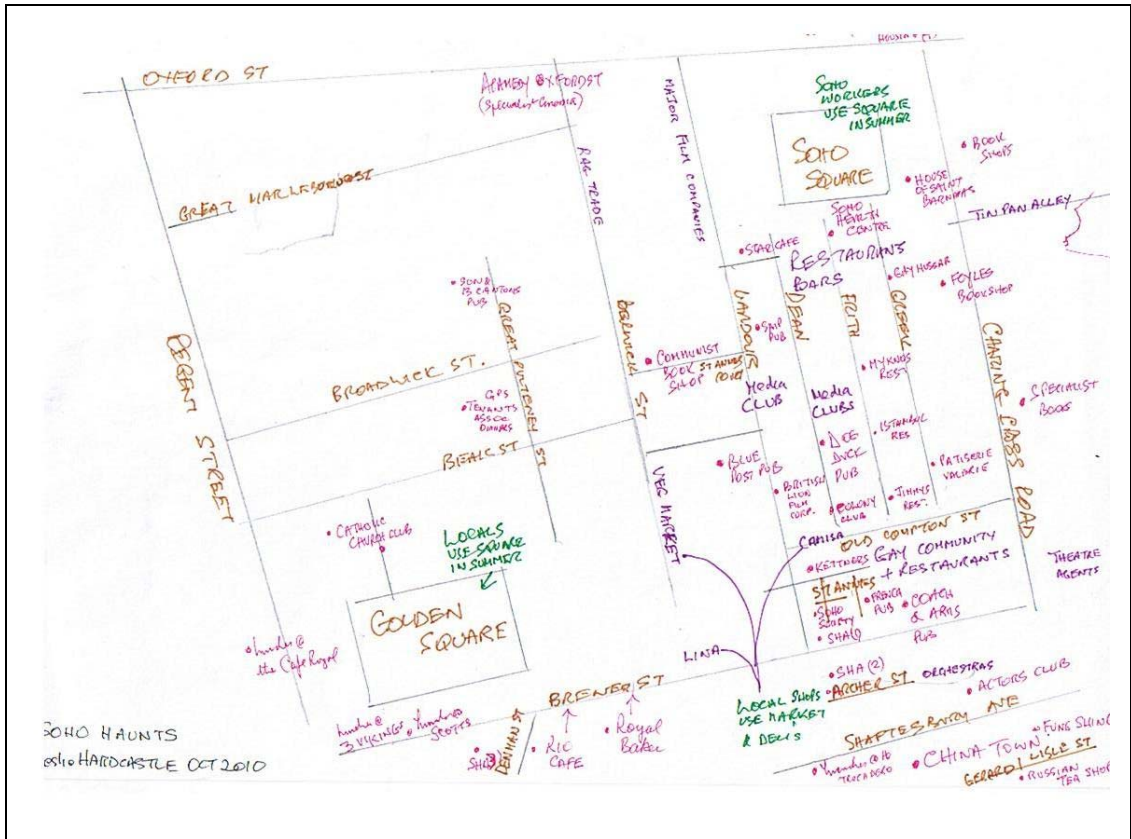


Figure 5.31. The Complexity of Soho: Soho Haunts (Int-S21)

5.7 PLACE-MAKING PROCESS IN SOHO

The current socio-cultural life and the physical setting of Soho is the result of the processes that Soho has gone through, which are also important in supporting the clustering. Therefore, in this section, the recent development process is presented in relation to its dynamics and the factors involved in the process.

As explained in Section 5.1, Soho has come through different periods of growth and decline. One of them was in the 1960s when the sex trade-related establishments increased in the area and coincided with socio-spatial decline. There were also serious attempts by different groups, including a local activist group (The Soho Society), Greater London Authority (GLA) and developers, to halt the decline and to rescue the area. However although these different groups shared the same vision - to rescue the area - their approaches were quite different. The GLA's plan was to flatten Soho and to get rid of the problems; the developers wanted to demolish the buildings and redevelop new ones, while the local activist group wanted to save the character of the area and preserve Soho's original street network and building layout. After several

attempts and a long negotiation process the activists convinced Westminster City Council to designate the area as a conservation area in 1969 (Collins, 2004; Int-S20; Int-S21; Westminster City Council, 2005).

Conservation has been a strong force in the area and there have been a whole series of initiatives aimed at improving Soho's environment. The Council has been working with Soho-based community organisations and local institutions to provide for the basic needs of residents, businesses and visitors. It is important to discuss these initiatives and networks and analyse how they impacted on the planning process in Soho, especially in terms of exploring the role of community involvement. The aim is to determine how crucial this bottom-up participatory planning approach to community involvement might have been in rescuing Soho and supporting the sustainability of clusters.

In the following section the roles of the council, community involvement, the role of big landowners, creative entrepreneur-led projects, and new developments in the area are explained. Before this discussion it is important to briefly introduce the general planning framework.

Planning Framework and the Role of the Council

There are several statutory planning frameworks that affect the development in Soho. Projects need to be in accordance with the government's Planning Policy Guidance; with the London Mayor's Spatial Development Strategy (Greater London Authority, 2009) and with the Local Development Framework prepared by Westminster City Council which comprises a Core Strategy and City Management Plan. In addition there are supplementary planning documents that work in conjunction with the Local Development Framework (Figure 5.32 on the next page).

Soho falls within the Central Activities Zone, the Soho Conservation Zone, the Creative Industries Special Policy Area and the West End Stress Area. All the planning documents, briefs or planning applications are evaluated based on decisions related to these zoning principles. It is recognised that Soho is a media centre and many companies involved in creative production are located there (GLA, 2009; WCC, 2011). The London Plan identifies Soho as one of the key clusters of the creative industries in

London. These policies and plans promote the light industrial office space uses (Class B1) which are convenient for creative industries.

In this context the Council acts as a controlling body rather than taking the lead on large-scale projects. It is stated that there is no one strategic urban policy that supports the creative industries in Soho (Int-S29). The Council monitors the area, guides the planning applications, develops research frameworks and organises steering groups and neighbourhood forums with the local community groups.

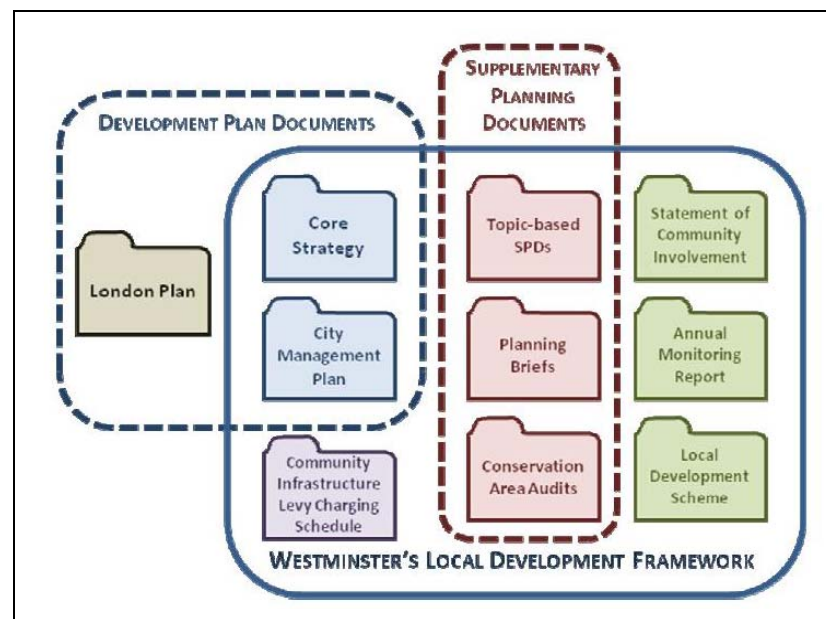


Figure 5.32. Westminster's Local Development Framework (WCC, 2011)

Westminster City Council has developed new planning frameworks and action plans and commissioned research reports. They are important in terms of reviewing the intentions of the Council towards Soho and their approach towards creative industries. The Council launched the Soho Action Plan in 2006 working together with the community networks and organisations. In addition, as part of its review of the Economic Development Strategy, the Council commissioned a research study about the creative industries in Westminster in 2007. In 2008, a report analysing the sustainability of the buildings in Soho, named *Retrofitting Soho*, was prepared in conjunction with the universities and local organisations. These projects are described in detail in Appendix 9-A.

There have not been any large-scale urban renewal projects or new developments initiated by the Council although it has intervened in a few projects, such as the Soho

and China Town Conservation Plan and the Soho Clean-up Project in the early 1980s (Collins, 2006). As part of the Clean-up Project the houses where the sex workers used to live and work from were compulsory purchased and the unlicensed sex establishments were closed down (Mowling, 2004). The Clean-up Project is still on the agenda due to the 2012 London Olympic Games, and the Council is monitoring the area in collaboration with the business-led campaigns (i.e. Safer Soho Business Partnership).

Community Involvement

The Council works in collaboration with the local community associations, businesses, police and residents, and develops the planning briefs, reports and action plans for the area in accordance with the Local Development Framework and London Plan. Community involvement in the planning process has also had a huge impact on preserving Soho's current street layout and building. As well as local activist groups and associations there are also city-wide networks that support Soho-based organisations and aim the community work together. The Council plays the role of facilitator within many of these groups, networks and platforms.

There are many small community associations, groups, networks, and platforms, established in Soho and for the Soho community. These local groups are linked with an umbrella forum (SCAF: Soho Caring Agencies Forum¹⁵) and to the Westminster City Partnership (WCP) through Westminster Community Network which is one of the six thematic working groups of the WCP. All these groups and networks work together to build a community in the West End Area that encompasses Soho. These networks and their structure are shown in Figure 5.33. The detailed description of these networks is explained in detail in Appendix 9-B focusing on how they have an effect on the development process of Soho based on the interviews and web search. One of them, the Soho Society, is briefly introduced below.

¹⁵ SCAF is an organisation comprising 60 different members involving the representatives of various different organisations such as community centres of different ethnic and religious groups, health and medical centres, homeless support agencies, local estates and housing agencies, volunteer organisations, charities, council services, libraries, centres for older people, places of worship, safety offices, volunteers and youth centres.

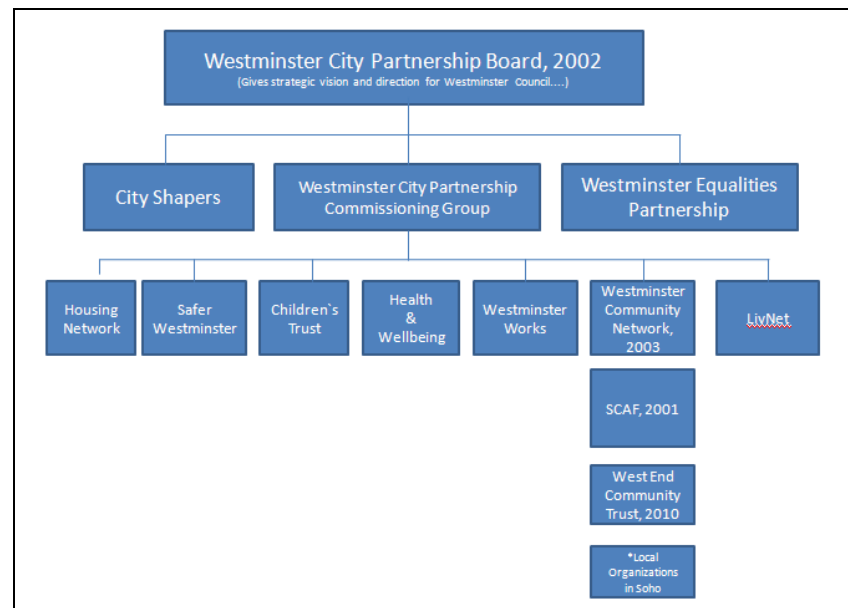


Figure 5.33 Community Networks¹⁶ (Westminster City Partnership, 2010)

Soho Society, 1972

In the 1960s, as Soho became a rundown area, a plan was developed by Greater London Authority, with the support of the current developers, for flattening Soho. A group of activists living in Soho opposed the plan and began to meet to organise in Soho cafes, back gardens and courtyards. These people constituted the Soho Society and convinced Westminster Council to launch the Soho Conservation Plan to prevent the demolition and loss of the existing residential and business communities. The Society, in partnership with Soho Housing Association, has also renovated 500 flats.

The Society gained formal consultative status with Westminster City Council on all planning, licensing, traffic and environmental matters. They meet every month and evaluate the licensing applications and discuss other major issues regarding Soho. They discuss planning applications and report to the Council for consideration. They meet in St Anne's Church Community Centre which is also regarded as an important building in terms of hosting the society meetings and society events. The building's relation with the history of Soho also reflects the importance of community in sustaining the area's assets and also in maintaining the community ties. The Society keeps the Soho

¹⁶ Due to the financial crises and resulting funding cuts there is an ongoing process of reorganisation throughout the council departments and community networks.

community informed through a quarterly local magazine called Soho Clarion (Int-S2, S20, S21, S23, S26; The Soho Society, 2010).

Business-led Approach and Landowners in Soho

Community and business-oriented initiatives such as the Safer Soho Business Partnership, I Love Soho Campaign, and the Metropolitan Police Control Team and Safer Neighbourhoods monitor the area and record the problems related to noise, social disorder and other alcohol/drug use-related social problems. These initiatives were set up after 2000. They are described in detail in Appendix 9-C. As well as these initiatives and campaigns, the big landowners are important to the area's development. There are three main landowners in the area such as Shaftsbury PLC, Soho Estates and the Crown Estate who are also undertaking construction and building works in the area particularly investing in their properties. The involvement of these landowners within the planning and design process is also important as they manage large-scale projects, renovate the buildings and invest in new developments, contribute to the instalment of public art objects and organisation of public art events. These companies however are not formal development corporations or strategic partnerships as in the case, for example, of Temple Bar, Dublin. They are not part of the formal urban regeneration process or council programmes. Working in collaboration with community associations and other business and police networks, these landowners have been involved in Soho-based projects for more than 20 years. They are all involved in Soho life and each interviewee mentioned about their personal story/history with Soho. In addition, these estates are in contact with each other, with business and community in the area, aware of other projects and community events in Soho. They are involved in other community groups' events and festivals, give financial support, or take part in the organisation of local festivals, and support and manage some policing/controlling organisations based in Soho. One of them, The Crown Estate renovates flats and offices along Regent Street and provides flexible office spaces that are usually rented by large-scale advertising companies. Currently, they are managing a large-scale redevelopment project in Regent Street which is a West End mixed-use development providing 200,000 sq ft office space, 23,000 sq ft retail, 11,600 sq ft residential and 30,000 sq ft restaurants. The Crown Estate has also developed projects

with a local Soho Museum group to install a 3D screen on this brand new building, exhibiting the history, projects, plans, and maps of Soho to inform people in the area (Int-S23 and S24).

Another major landowner, the Shaftesbury PLC, has also had a huge impact in the area. The estate implemented large-scale architectural and urban development projects, such as the Carnaby Street Renewal Project which is the trendy shopping zone of Soho, with many ground floor stylish boutiques, wine bars, cafes, night clubs and design stores. In addition, they contributed to the development of the art-scene in Soho by implementing public art projects and supporting community public art projects (Int-S4, S19 and S22).

Carnaby Street Renewal Project is initiated by Shaftesbury PLC who owns most of the premises in the Carnaby area. After renewal of the area began in 1996 the project provided many office spaces and shops. Most of the clients of the estate are media, advertising and IT-related companies locating on the second and third floors of the Georgian houses. Shaftesbury PLC owns more than 100 commercial premises and increasingly provides over-the-shop residential accommodation. Having helped transform cobbled lanes around Carnaby area into an enclave of boutiques and bistros, the company is turning its attention to Berwick Street which is known as the local street of Soho with its street market. Berwick Street has an important location at the intersection of the sex-related uses, residential uses, education facilities and also several book shops and record shops. Fifteen new flats at The Salt House flag up the regeneration taking place in the Berwick Street area (Int-S4, S19 and S22) (See Appendix 9-D).

The other estate, Soho Estates, has commissioned a redevelopment project comprising the Walker's Court, Peter Street and Brewer Street, the aim being to renew the buildings used by sex-related establishments. In addition a residential development and office refurbishment in Wardour Street and Bateman Street, and the reconstruction and redesign of a building after a major fire in July 2009 in Dean Street are the current projects of the estate (Soho Estate, 2011). It is also interesting that Soho Estate's first owner, Paul Raymond, contributed to the formation of the

seedy/shabby aspects of Soho. When the area was run down in the 1960s the rents went down. This was when he purchased the majority of his properties, and became the owner of many sex-related businesses. Paul Raymond was also known as the *King of Soho*. His daughter having committed suicide, his granddaughter inherited the estate. Currently, Raymond's son in-law is one of the directors of the estate which continues to play an important role in Soho's development. The approach of these landowners towards investment and the way they manage the projects is different to the commercial development companies' approaches. They have long-term projections on their projects as they own and manage these new developments; hence they aim for long-term rather than short-term profits.

Sohonet

Sohonet, as introduced above, also can be taken as an example of creative-entrepreneur-led development, contributing to sustaining the film clusters. This project is important in terms of building the 'hard networks' of Soho as well as the 'soft networks' (community networks introduced above). It contributed to perpetuating the existing Soho film clusters and possibly attracted others. It is important to note that the idea for high-speed connectivity was conceived in a Soho pub where people meet for after-work drinks. This fact is important in emphasising the role of cafe culture on both creativity and innovation:

"It started in Soho. So what happened, there are lots of visual effects in London, before it used to be lots of commercial stuff, all film stuff is very separate and so you have single digital video lines between tower and the facilities but film did not fit in that. So a group of engineers from various post-production houses had a meeting upstairs in the Old Cafe House on Beak Street where we proposed the idea of linking them together with a network. And it grew up like that" (Int-S9).

It was started by a group of London-based post-production facilities (digital effects for movies, post production of TV and Radio commercials, TV Programmes, music videos and promos and corporate and training video, and film restoration). Sohonet's clients are diverse; they comprise studios, labs, post houses, facilities, VFX vendors, production companies, content delivery specialists and advertising agencies. It is an ATM (Asynchronous Transfer Mode) network with a capacity of 155Mbit/s optical fibre. This ATM network was very useful to process and transfer vast data, computer generated images, which are frames of video, film, or digital audio. Up to this point, it

had not been possible for any other network to carry such vast data flows in real time. It helps to transfer big files, computer generated images; it offers fast internet access, web access to library systems, video conferencing, and e-show reel viewing; and it also can be used as a database of voice-over artists. They are developing the network to facilitate directors' show reels, programme archives, remote backup, data warehousing, programme distribution, interactive entertainment design support, links to studios and sound stages, booking systems, links to other parts of the media industry and all of the above, to Hollywood. There are also plans by Westminster City Council to deploy high-bandwidth Wi-Fi networks in Soho to encourage the development of the area as a media centre (Harris, 1997; Int-S9; Sohonet, n.d).

Sohonet is one of the very important factors behind clustering in the area. As discussed in Chapter 5.2, the number of film companies increased in Soho especially after 2000. As the concentration of the companies accelerated after 2000, the establishment of Sohonet in 1995 might have been the catalyst for the clustering in Soho, together with the community networks most of which were also established around the 2000s.

Architecture and New Developments

As discussed in Section 5.4, the interviewees mentioned that the convergence of old and new architecture in Soho is appreciated in terms of creating the architectural diversity which provides stimulation, not necessarily as a primary factor in location decision. These new developments however do add a different character to the area. The twentieth century architecture of Soho contributes diversity to the Georgian and Victorian architecture of Soho. There are several examples of contemporary architecture in the area such as Trenchard House, built in 1940 which is a purpose-built police house, Kemps House built in 1962 as a council housing block developed by WCC, Ingestre Place built in 1975 as a residential 15-storey block, Broadwick House, a Richard Rogers Partnership office building which was completed in 2002, and Salt House, a mixed-use redevelopment built by a private development company. There are also some more new projects in the area such as a mixed-use redevelopment in Air Street developed by the Crown Estate, a hotel and mixed-use development in Ham

Yard developed by a private company, a new office building in Great Pulteney Street and a new shopping centre in Carnaby Street. The detailed descriptions of these developments are outlined in Appendix 9-D. (Max Lock Center, 2008; WCC, 2007c)

Urban Transformation in Soho

All these different groups described above - local business, police, residents, Westminster City Council, local community associations, City-wide Community Networks and landowners - meet regularly, monitor the area, and develop projects and proposals. As highlighted by the questionnaires, most of the residents, businesses and film people think that Soho is becoming a better place; only 13% of the respondents think that it is declining and 39% changing and 29% upgrading; and 19% say it remains the same (Figure 5.34 and Table 5.21).

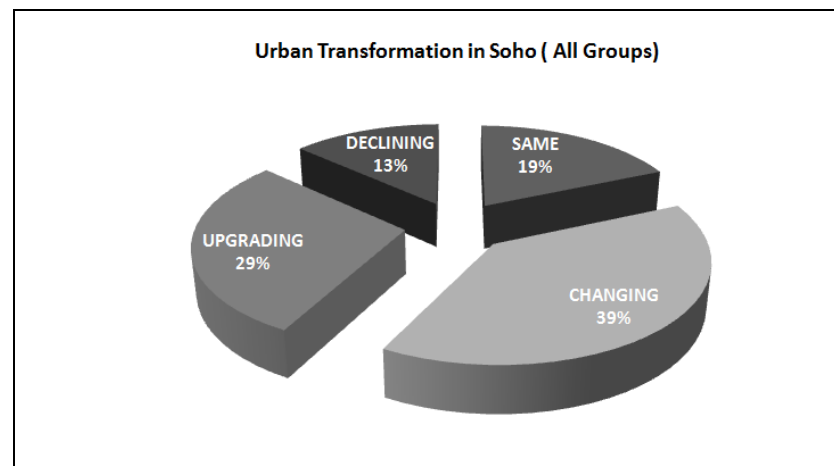


Figure 5.34 Urban Transformation in Soho (Questionnaires: Soho All Groups)

It is highlighted that it is becoming a more diverse cosmopolitan place as one of the indicators of positive change. In full: forty one per cent of the people who took part in the study indicated that it is becoming cosmopolitan and 25% of the respondents indicated that its bohemian look is increasing (Table 5.21). Respondents highlighted its negative aspects in that Soho is becoming a homogenised (15%), dirtier (17%), and nosier (17%) place.

Table 5.21. Characteristics of Change (Questionnaires: Soho All Groups)

Positive Change %		Negative Change %	
Diverse/Cosmopolitan	41	Homogenised	15
Bohemian	25	Posh	10
Safer	24	Dangerous	1
Distinctive	19	Uncharacteristic	4
Cleaner	17	Dirty	17
Sanitised	12	Seedy	7
Quite	2	Noisy	17

Total number of response= 102 (Film=41; Resident=39; Business=22)

Factors of Change

The role of Westminster City Council is perceived as a major factor in this positive change (46%); followed by effective policing (36%) and new architecture/planning (34%). Cafe culture (26%), community involvement (28%) and the film industry (25%), are also perceived as significant factors in this positive change (Figure 5.35).

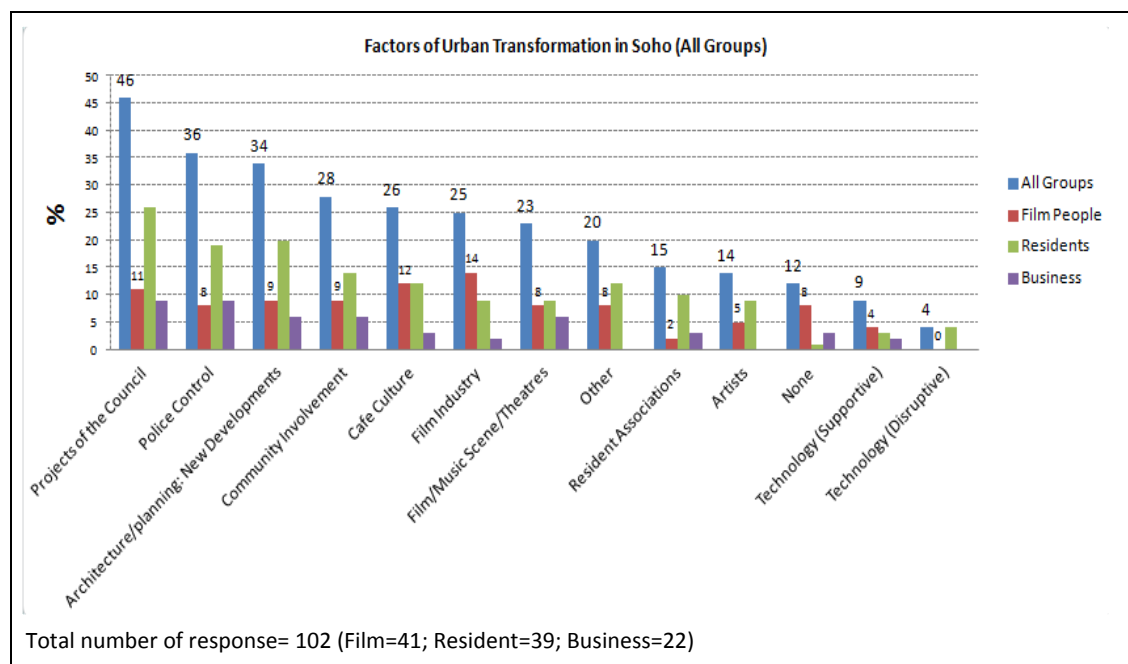


Figure 5.35 Factors of Urban Transformation in Soho (Questionnaires: Soho All Groups)

5.8 CONCLUSION: QUALITY OF PLACE IN SOHO

Chapter 5 presented a case study of Soho, focusing on the evolution of the urban area, the location patterns of the film industry tracing through from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day, and the factors relating to clustering and de-clustering. Within the first section the evolution of Soho in relation to the emergence

and evolution of the film industry and its spatial pattern was presented. The emergence, growth and sustainability of the film clusters in Soho are strongly related to Soho's urban fabric, and also to the economics of clustering.

It is highlighted that location matters the most among other physical factors. Visual factors are important in terms of retaining the creative types but not very important in terms of the initial location decision. The grid network of Soho makes it easy to find one's way. It does not create a monotonous environment as streets are also enriched with mews, courts, alleys, niches and alcoves. These interactive micro urban public places are found to have been very important in creating the overall context which encourages interaction and movement. Community and cafe culture are found to be important assets of Soho, facilitating interaction and sense of belonging. Section 5.7 discussed the place-making process including the formal planning framework, Council projects, community involvement, business-led projects, the role of landowners and Sohonet. As well as the attributes of urban place, this participatory, incremental, bottom-up development process contributed to clustering and to the development of its creative atmosphere. All these different organisations and community networks reinforce the socio-spatial cohesion in Soho and support the multiculturalism and local distinctiveness that is important in fostering creativity (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). There is a virtuous circle at work here. A strong sense of community encourages public participation and public participation encourages a sense of community and community spirit. As a result it is the complexity and integrity of socio-spatial relations and the participatory/incremental planning process that that make the quality of place in Soho; a factor that fosters creative clustering.

CHAPTER 6 CASE STUDY: BEYOGLU-ISTANBUL

This Chapter is based on the findings of a case study undertaken in Beyoglu, one of the 39 districts of Istanbul, which is famous for its relation to the film industry and also known as the “Soho of Istanbul”. Beyoglu consists of 45 ‘mahalles’¹ each having different characteristics. Beyoglu covers 9km² surface area, a much bigger area than Soho. This Chapter adopts the same structure as it was followed in Chapter 6. It briefly presents the evolution of the area, the emergence of the film industry in Beyoglu and the clustering process focusing on the factors on the expansion and contraction of clusters as well as the place-making process in the area.

Beyoglu is located on the European side of Istanbul on the northern shore of the Golden Horn and the Old City. It is connected to the old city centre across the Golden Horn. As well as being the centre of foreign commerce and trade, it has long been the most cosmopolitan area of Istanbul which bridges Europe and Asia, linking the Black Sea with the Mediterranean, and being the only sea gateway from northern countries to southern Europe and the Mediterranean. The location of Istanbul in Turkey and the location of Beyoglu in Istanbul are shown in Figure 6.1 and also Figure 6.2.

Beyoglu is the most active art, entertainment, night life and shopping centre of Istanbul. It is a mixed-use area with variety of land uses, architectural styles and diversity of people from different ethnic, social, religious backgrounds and social classes. There are many shops, cafes, patisseries, restaurants, pubs and clubs, as well as some of the city's very famous bookshops, theatres, cinemas and art galleries. They are located along Istiklal Caddesi, the main thoroughfare, which links Taksim Square to the Bosphorous as shown in Figure 6.1.

¹ Mahalle is a term in Turkish which is used to define the smallest administrative units. It also could be used for the neighbourhoods or as equivalent to “Ward” in English.



Figure 6.1 Location of Beyoglu in Turkey and in Istanbul

Beyoglu is located on one of the seven hills of Istanbul, and has strong links with other districts of Istanbul due to its central location and connection with the sea. It could be argued that Beyoglu's art and cultural scene has developed from commerce and sea trade and has also been inspired by its cosmopolitan population. The brief history of the area is introduced below.

6.1 EVOLUTION OF BEYOGLU AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE FILM INDUSTRY

As the most cosmopolitan neighbourhood of Istanbul, Beyoglu developed as the main art and culture centre of Istanbul through its history. During its long history, it was the capital of three empires; the Roman Empire (330–395), the Eastern Roman (Byzantine Empire) (395–1204 and 1261–1453), and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922). This contributed to the development of cultural activities in Beyoglu and shaping its cosmopolitan and multi-layered urban structure. A series of events affected the development of the spatial pattern of Beyoglu which are mainly related to its location,

topography, big fires, cultural/ethnic conflicts, sea trade, the Tanzimat Charter² and government policies. Galata port, the foreign population settled around it, development of sea transportation, western trade agreements³ and introduction of new transportation networks⁴, commercial buildings (passages, arcades, small office blocks, bedestens⁵), the construction of bridges with the historical peninsula (the first of the many bridges were built in 1836), embassies and foreign schools (French, Italian, Greek), have all played an important role in the development of the area (Akin, 2008). These socio-spatial factors affecting the development of its urban fabric and its relation with art, culture and creativity is explained in detail in Appendix 10. The location and the topography of Beyoglu are shown in Figure 6.2 on the next page, indicating the links with the Bosphorous, Golden Horn and Historical Peninsula.

Galata and Pera are the two main historical neighbourhoods in Beyoglu. There are certain differences in the urban patterns of these places as discussed in Appendix 10. Pera is located on the hill towards Taksim Square while Galata is located on the outskirts and very close to the port, as shown in Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3 below. Galata and Pera is located along Istiklal Caddesi linking Taksim Square in the north to Tunel Square and Galatasaray Square in the south.

These differences in the urban fabric of Galata and Pera can still be seen today. These different land use patterns and urban fabric played role in the agglomeration of the film companies as well as other art-related companies or premises. These preferences are referred again in Section 6.3.

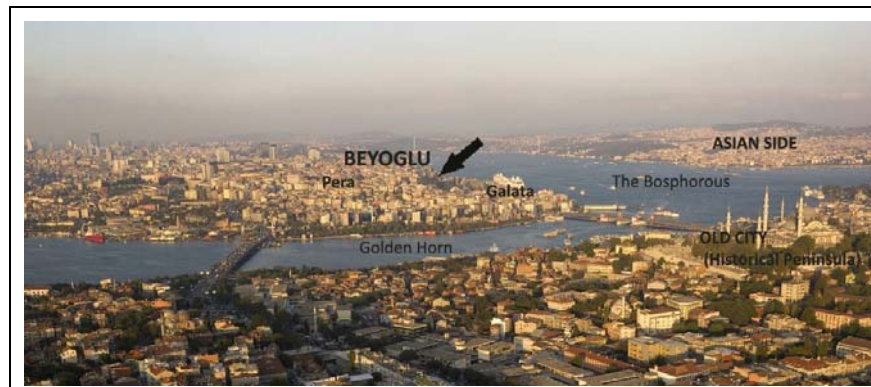
² The Tanzimat Charter is the main planning document of the Ottoman Empire launched in 1839. It introduced new regulations towards the planning and design of urban fabric mainly inspired by the European towns and cities.

³ The Baltalimani Trade Agreement with Britain was signed in 1838 and later on other agreements were signed with other European countries

⁴ In 1860: New electrical tram was introduced on the Istiklal Caddesi

In 1875: The second oldest tube of Europe was built linking the port with Tunnel Square

⁵ Bedestens `are types of arcades and passages specific to Turkish culture



Beyoglu as seen from the Golden Horn and Historical Peninsula



The Golden Horn and Historical Peninsula as seen from Beyoglu

Figure 6.2 Beyoglu, Golden Horn and Historical Peninsula (Skyscrapercity, 2011)

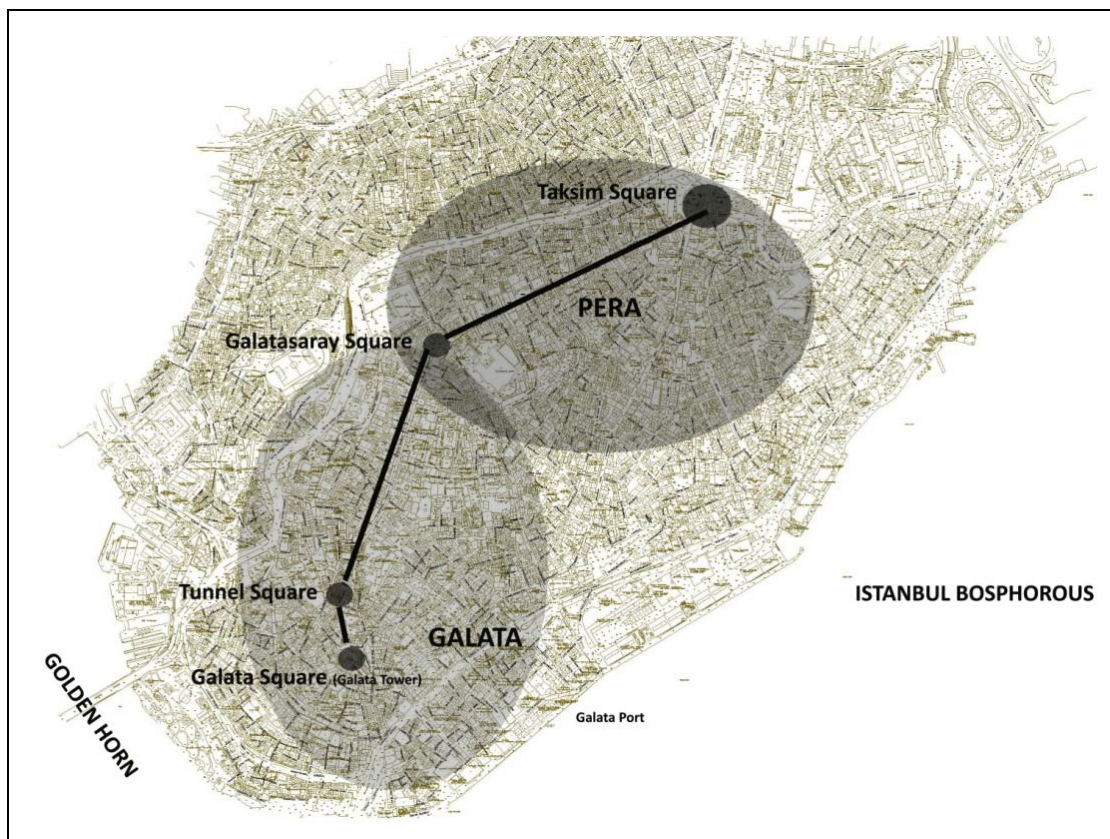


Figure 6.3 Galata and Pera: Istiklal Caddesi and the Main Squares

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Beyoglu was the most cosmopolitan part of Istanbul with various ethnic groups including Greeks (the most populous group), as well as Jews, Armenians, Levantines and Turks. The strong relationship with Europe and the cosmopolitan nature of the Ottoman Empire contributed to the development of art and culture in the area. The first theatres and cinemas were opened by foreigners at the beginning of the twentieth century. These same foreigners managed European style cafes and restaurants, and the habit of eating out or going to a cabaret developed in Beyoglu which provided the roots of entertainment in the district.

Beyoglu has long been the elegant, bohemian neighbourhood of Istanbul. However, from the second half of the twentieth century, this multicultural, cosmopolitan structure of Beyoglu changed; gradually the district went into socio-spatial decline, and the population became a monoculture due to the interwoven relations of socio-cultural changes and government policies, such as conflicts between Greeks and Turks, the effect of government policies towards minority groups, migration from eastern Turkey, resulted in inner-city decay, decentralisation and population change as explained below (Kubat, 1999).

Celik (1993) argued that the cultural scene of Beyoglu was affected by government policies, marking a sharp transition from a cosmopolitan empire towards a nation-state with the guidance of modernisation projects of the newly founded Turkish Republic⁶. In the second half of the twentieth century, governmental policies forced the foreign population living in Beyoglu to leave.⁷ Particularly, events of 6-7 September 1955⁸ forced Greek people living in the area to leave the country. Following their departure, their houses became vacant and business in the area also declined as these people

⁶ The **Turkish Republic** was founded in 1923 after the Independence War (1919-1923) followed by the First World War.

⁷ **Wealth Tax in 1948** increased the taxes for the foreign population and business owners, and eventually some of them left Istanbul.

⁸ **6-7th September 1955 Events**: Greeks who were residing in Beyoglu were forced to leave the country by the organised programmes on non-Muslim Istanbul citizens especially towards Armenians and the Greeks. The local Turkish population living in the area were provoked by the government resulting with attacks on Greek people's houses, shops and businesses in the area. Many died, many buildings were damaged and eventually the Greeks left the area.

mostly ran their businesses from the ground floors of their homes (Baykan and Hattuka, 2010). On the other hand, parallel to the socio-cultural changes in Turkey, the newcomers who migrated from particularly the eastern part of Turkey settled in these houses⁹ (Ergun, 2004). Due to these socio-cultural transformations and government and urban policies, the population changed dramatically, with the onset of mass migration from eastern Turkey in the 1950s, which continued to the 1990s (Baykan and Hattuka, 2010). This socio-spatial change resulted in inner-city decay in the 1960s and accelerated the decentralisation from the city centre towards new business districts in the north. Government liberalisation policies accelerated the decentralisation process especially with the construction of new roads and motorways in the 1950s (Bezmez, 2009). These changes also affected the existing business and also the film industry, as discussed in detail in Section 6.2. However there was also another movement towards Beyoglu in the 1990s. As the rents were cheap, the artists also started to move into Beyoglu, particularly to the Asmalimescit and Cihangir neighbourhoods (Ergun, 2004; Uzun, 2003).

In the following Section 6.2 the evolution of the film industry in Istanbul and the current spatial pattern of the film industry clusters in Beyoglu are explained based on mapping the clusters. In addition, within this section other locations in Istanbul such as Levent and Maslak where film companies are located are also briefly introduced with a focus on the reasons for moving to these places.

6.2 FILM INDUSTRY IN BEYOGLU

6.2.1 HISTORICAL EVOLUTION AND THE LOCATION PATTERNS

The history of cinema started with the film screening in a Parisian cafe by French Lumiere Brothers in 1896¹⁰. Just one year later cinema came to Istanbul. As in Paris,

⁹ Due to the socio-cultural transformations, governmental and urban policies the population drastically changed with the mass migration from the eastern part of Turkey to the western part, especially to Istanbul, beginning from the 1950s until the 1990s. Due to the Kurdish-Turkish conflicts in the eastern part of Turkey, many people also left their villages and migrated towards west.

¹⁰ The same film, *Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat*, was screened in Istanbul.

the first film was also screened in a Beyoglu pub (Sponeck) near Galatasaray Square, by a German-Jewish immigrant (Scognamillo, 1987). Since then, Istanbul has been the main centre of the film industry in Turkey, accommodating cinemas, production companies and other cinema-related associations, as well as being the location where the first Turkish movies were screened. The cosmopolitan population of Istanbul contributed to the development of the film industry. The first cinema was established in 1908 in Beyoglu by Sigmund Weinberg, a photographer and a Polish Jew from Romania (Scognamillo, 1987). This was followed by several other theatres, mostly run by members of the non-Muslim minorities (Suner, 2010).

The Turkish film industry has undergone different periods of decline and growth. It could be argued that the history of the film industry in Turkey can be associated with the socio-spatial transformation that took place, particularly in the late twentieth century. As a result of various socio-cultural, industrial and economic changes, the industrial and the spatial location patterns of the industry changed. The earliest film companies were founded in Istanbul in the 1920s and growth peaked in the 1960s with an average of 150 films a year being produced, with a record of 299 films in 1972 (Behlil, 2010). Most of the production companies were based in Beyoglu, especially around Yesilcam Street in Pera. However, this cluster started to dissolve at the beginning of the 1980s in response to the socio-spatial transformations discussed in Section 6.1. From the second half of the 1990s, the film industry went through a revival with a different industrial dynamic to that of the previous period (the Yesilcam period) and consequently has experienced/established a different location pattern (Arslan 2011; Behlil, 2010; Ozguc and Scognamillo, 1988). These changes are briefly summarised below.

In the early years, the film industry was based on cinema management and distribution of foreign films. Soon after, this gave impetus to the development of production companies, especially after the 1940s. Between 1915 and 1922, during the First World War and the Turkish Independence War, cinematic activities were managed by the government and the army until the first private company (Kemal Film) was established in 1922 in a textile factory (Feshane) located on the shores of the Golden Horn (Figure 6.4). By the 1940s the number of the private production companies had increased.

These companies used the revenue from the distribution and exhibition of foreign films and also involved in filmmaking (Arslan 2011; Telifhaklari, 2010). This accelerated filmmaking, and new companies were founded especially in the 1950s (126 more new companies were founded) (Behlil, 2010). As the number of companies increased, companies with similar industrial organisation and filmmaking styles agglomerated in Beyoglu (Int-B20)¹¹.



Figure 6.4 Feshane and Beyoglu (Source: Google Earth)

In 1948 filmmaking was boosted by a regulation change providing tax incentives for private production companies. Turkish cinema enjoyed its heyday during the 1960s and early 1970s and nearly all the companies were located around Yesilcam Street; later, some of them moved across Istiklal Caddesi to Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street (Int-B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B8). The locations of Yesilcam and Gazeteci Erol Dernek Streets are shown in Figure 6.5.

¹¹ This is the coding for the personal interviews. The details of the interviewee are listed in the Appendix 7b. In the following sections the same coding system will be used to refer the interviewees.



Figure 6.5 The Initial Location of the Film Industry: Yesilcam and Gazeteci Erol Dernek Streets

Beginning from the late 1970s, the Turkish film industry witnessed a decline. Behlil (2010) argued that the establishment of The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) in 1968, the political conjuncture of Turkey in the 1970s, the economic and financial difficulties, the 1973 OPEC crisis, the 1974 military intervention in Cyprus, proliferation of TV and the establishment of private TV channels decreased the number of the cinema goers and the number of films produced every year. This decline was matched by a decline in production quality as nearly half of film production was based on pornography which had started earlier at the end of the 1960s. Sex-related movies and sex-related establishments in Beyoglu had tarnished the image of Beyoglu and its relation with the film industry.

The concentration of these companies both in Yesilcam and Gazeteci Erol Dernek Streets did not survive long, and at the beginning of the 1980s in particular, the companies started to close down in response to the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of Turkey (Arslan, 2011). The coup d'état in 1980, spatial deterioration in

Beyoglu, and introduction of television and private TV channels and foreign distribution firms affected the film industry clusters in Beyoglu (Arslan, 2011; Enlil et al., 2011; Ozguc and Scognamillo, 1988). After the coup d`etat of 1980, Turkey underwent enormous changes. Cultural production in the country was halted by restrictions imposed by the current military government. Many small companies were closed down, or others relocated abroad due to the restrictions on social life in the country (Arslan, 2011).

In addition to these factors, Beyoglu also witnessed spatial deterioration as discussed above. From the 1980s, companies started to decentralise; some were relocated in different business districts, but most of them closed down. The governmental and municipal policies had an impact on this decentralisation process as the urban policies encouraged the development of new roads and new districts rather than regenerating and investing in inner-city areas (Enlil et al., 2011). No longer was Beyoglu the place where people used to dress up before going out; it became a place associated with drugs, crime and prostitution, especially in the narrow backstreets of Beyoglu (Int-B6; Int-B9; Int-B20).

Another key change was the start of private television channels. These boomed in the 1990s, beginning from the introduction of television in 1968. After the 1980s the film industry had underwent a stagnant period for five to six years (Int-B11; Int-B13). Then, in the 1990s, with the liberalisation process, numerous private TV channels were established in Turkey. Television had a negative effect on the cinema as it was a cheaper form of entertainment (Ozguc and Scognamillo, 1988). The number of moviegoers decreased as people preferred to watch TV in their homes rather than going to the cinema. After 1995, many TV films were made and new companies were established, with their origins in TV and video production. The production of TV programmes and series supported the film industry by providing investment and capital, new technical infrastructure, screenwriter-director-technical staff resources, and by transferring know-how and management skills to the film industry (Ozkan, 2009). Television also generated a pool of talent for the film industry. People who had become famous for the TV shows, also produced the movies that have the highest box office returns (Ozkan, 2009). Furthermore, foreign capital regulations changed in 1987

allowing foreign distributors to enter the Turkish market. The distribution of foreign films affected the production of local films and the domestic film industry (Behlil, 2010).

The new companies established during the 1990s had different styles of filmmaking and different industrial relations (independent directors), and their location choice was also different (Ozkan, 2009) compared to the Yesilcam era. This movement towards new locations also affected the few existing companies located in Beyoglu. Most of them moved out and clustered in the new business districts in Levent and Maslak. Many of the older family companies ceased trading as the owners passed away. The weak personal relations between the old generation companies and the new ones created some problems in terms of the sustainability of the clusters in Beyoglu (Int-B13; B20). Only the long-established film companies surviving from the Yesilcam Era stayed in Beyoglu.

The result of the socio-spatial transformations discussed in Sections 6.1 and 6.2.1 is that the location of the film industry has shifted and the centre of the film industry has fragmented. However, the findings of this research indicate that Beyoglu remains one of the major film centres in Istanbul; maybe not as powerful as it was used to be in the 1950s and 1960s, but it is still the place where many film, TV and advertisement companies cluster and where many famous actors, directors and artists live. As well as accommodating the creative individuals and companies, Beyoglu is still one of the most popular places in Istanbul where films and TV series are shot. In the following section the current location patterns in Beyoglu are discussed based on the cluster mapping and email/telephone survey.

6.2.2 CURRENT SPATIAL PATTERN OF THE FILM INDUSTRY IN BEYOGLU

As explained in the previous section there are several different locations in Istanbul where film companies cluster including Besiktas (especially Levent), Sisli (especially in Maslak) on the European side, and Kadikoy on the Asian side of the Bosphorous (Enlil et.al, 2011; Ozkan, 2009). These clusters are briefly introduced in the following Section 6.2.3. The locations of Levent and Maslak are shown in Figure 6.6, indicating their

relation with Beyoglu which is located towards the south. The research reported in this thesis, however, focuses on the spatial structure of the film industry in Beyoglu. In the following section the film clusters in Beyoglu are discussed showing their locations, termed *creative hotspots*.

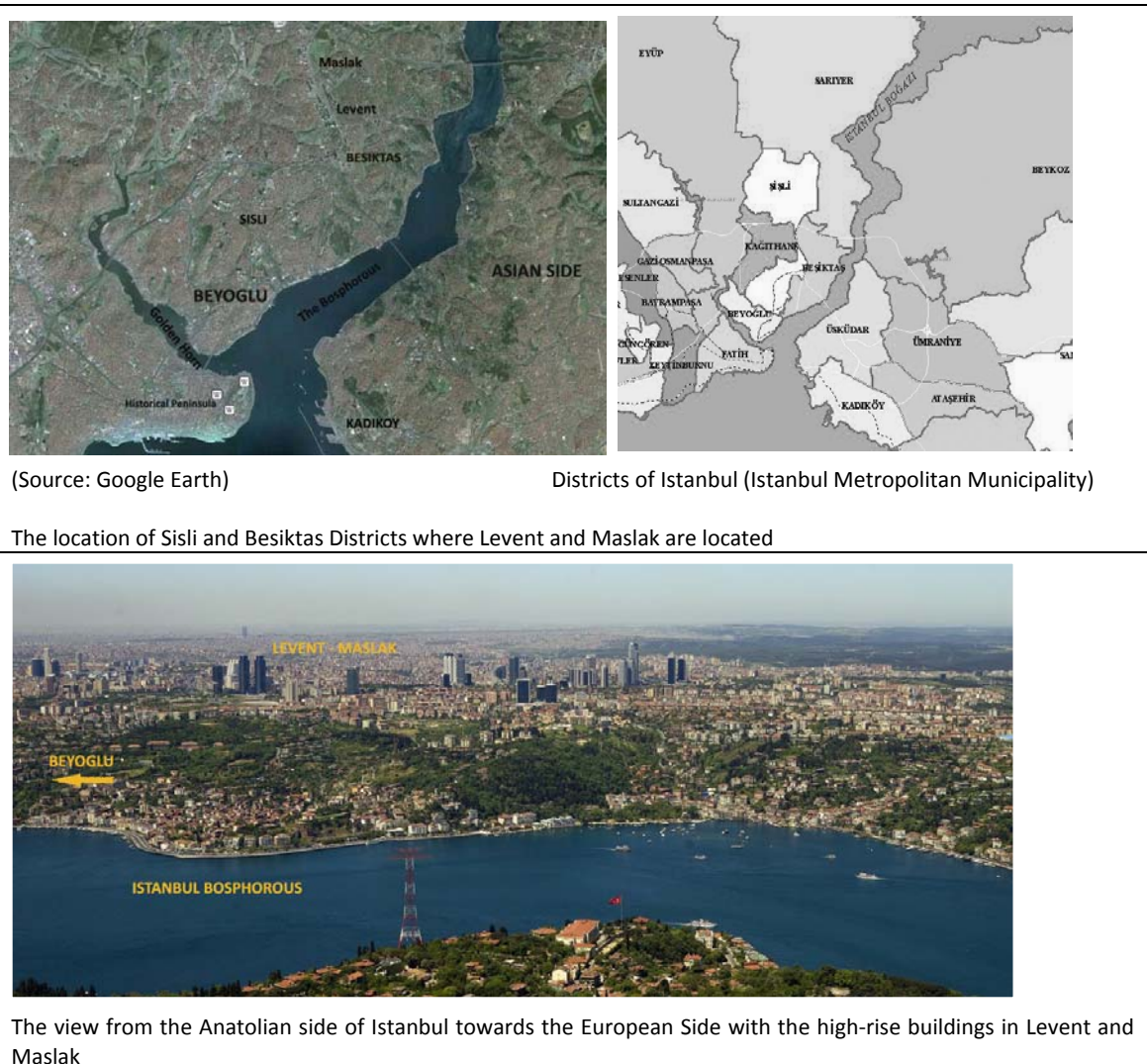


Figure 6.6 The Location of Levent and Maslak (Skyscrapers, 2011)

Creative Hotspots

Mapping of the film companies indicates that rather than agglomerating in one part of Beyoglu, the companies are dispersed throughout several different locations in Beyoglu. It is possible to group these locations into three areas. They are introduced below as Area-1: Pera, Area-2: Galata and Area-3: Cihangir and Galatasaray. These locations, which can be identified as creative hotspots, are marked on Figure 6.7

Area-1 (Pera) covers the northern part of Istiklal Caddesi, including Yesilcam Street and Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street and the places around Taksim Square, Harbiye and Inonu Street. It is the part where Beyoglu connects to northern districts of Istanbul with the main public and private transportation routes linked in Taksim Square. There are many cafes, cheap eating places for low-income visitors, shops (mainly clothing), and chain stores. In addition, historical local cinemas are located in the historical passages, arcades and small office blocks which were mainly built around the nineteenth century. Some of the long-established film companies from the Yesilcam era also are located in this part, as will be discussed in detail below.

Area-2 (Galata) is the southern part of Istiklal Caddesi after Galatasaray High School and extending to the port, including Asmalimescit, Galata, Tunnel and Karakoy neighbourhoods which are associated with a bohemian lifestyle. Compared to Area-1, it has a more bohemian/authentic look, and a creative feel with a complex urban and social structure. There are many art galleries, design/fashion houses, individual designers' galleries and music stores as well as the film companies. The local antique shops, and other record, art and book shops, also contribute to bohemian look of the area. Many famous artists, painters, singers, academics and architects live in the area.

Area-3 (Cihangir and Galatasaray) covers the Galatasaray, Cihangir and Tophane neighbourhoods. As well as accommodating the film companies, it is a cosmopolitan area with embassies, foreign high schools (Italian, French, Greek, and Armenian), different religious groups and a diverse ethnic population and gays. There are also many art galleries, local shops, antique shops and other second-hand book and printing shops. The area is also a place of conflict with a very conservative group living in the Tophane neighbourhood as shown in Figure 6.7. In the summer of 2010 the residents strongly opposed the opening of an art gallery where the guests drank alcohol outside the building by attacking the guests with stones and sticks (Ogret, 2010).

As these three areas have different spatial characteristics, the film companies locating in these places have some differences in terms of the age, style of the company or the film-making processes they are involved with. These characteristics are discussed in

the following section. The types of the companies are shown in the map in Figure 6.7 on the next page.

6.2.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF CREATIVE HOTSPOTS

Company Types

There are a total of 138 film companies in the core film sector¹² located in Beyoglu. Of these, 78% are production companies, 15% operate in more than one area (these can be termed mixed category) only 4% operates in distribution alone and only 4% operates in post production alone. The findings of this research indicates that Beyoglu film companies make up nearly 46% of the 301 core-sector film companies located in Istanbul. These findings are similar to those of Ozkan (2009) who found that 32% of all film companies in the core sector are located in Beyoglu, as shown in Table 6.1. Below the location pattern of Beyoglu companies is discussed.

Table 6.1 The Number of Film Companies in Istanbul (Ozkan, 2009*)

*Based on Table 4.21 and Table 4.28 in Ozkan (2009)

	Types of Companies	Beyoglu (numbers)	Beyoglu (%)	Istanbul (numbers)
Sector Categories	Production (Feature Film, TV-Series,	64	32	199
	Post Production	8	33	24
	Studio	4	19	21
	Distribution	11	41	27
	Exhibition (Cinema Management)	9	30	30
	TOTAL	96	32	301
Sub-Sectors	TV Channels	4	13	30
	Advertisement Agency	14	11	131
	Public University Cinema Departments	0	0	21
	Private Cinema Schools	11	58	19
	Cinema Associations/Unions	25	78	32
	Other Sub-Sectors	6	16	38
	TOTAL	76	22	318
GRAND TOTAL		172	28	619

¹² The core film sector is grouped by Ozkan (2009) as feature film production, TV series production, commercial production, feature film import, feature film distribution, post production with laboratories, studios, animation, and post-production houses. The same terminology is also used in this research.

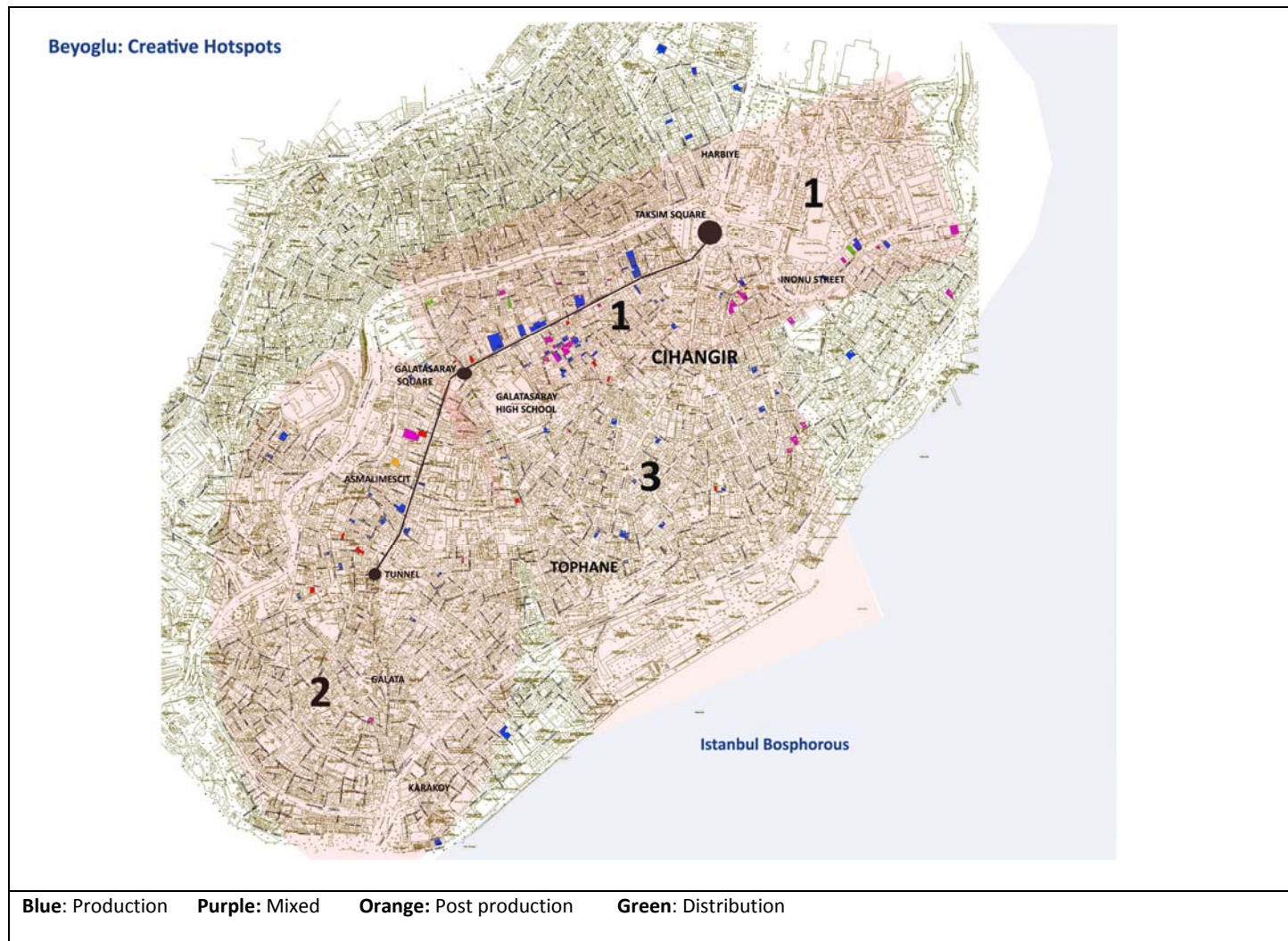


Figure 6.7 The Location of the Film Companies/Creative Hotspots in Beyoglu

The film companies in Beyoglu are dispersed across different parts of the district. The results of the cluster mapping indicates that it is possible to suggest a categorisation for these different locations according to the relationship between the location and the types of the companies, foundation date of the companies and according to whether they are active or not. The last one is based on a categorisation according to whether or not the companies have web pages. This is important because it gives an idea about the companies which are actively operating which do not. Also Ozkan (2009) indicated that the old generation companies in particular do not operate completely but are also registered in the databases. The discussion below is presented according to these three categories: Location Pattern-1: Company Type and Location; Location Pattern-2: Foundation dates of the companies and Location Pattern 3: The business activity level and Location.

Location Pattern 1: Company Type and Location

The companies are dispersed around the three creative hotspots described earlier: Of these 53% are located in Area-1, 28% are located in Area-3 and 19% are located in Area-2. Production companies are clustered in all three areas. Distribution companies are mainly clustered in Area-1 and Area-3, whereas post-production companies mainly are located in Area-1. Distribution and post-production companies in particular are located in this area as it has strong links with main transportation routes, airport and other districts, especially to Levent and Maslak connected by the new metro from Taksim. Table 6.2 shows the distribution of companies in relation to company types.

Table 6.2. Location Pattern-1: Company Type and Location in Beyoglu (Mapping and Email Survey)

Company Type	Location and Number of Companies			
	Area-1	Area-2	Area-3	Total
Distribution	3	0	3	6
Mixed*	15	3	3	21
Post Production	3	1	0	4
Production	52	22	33	107
Total number of companies	73 (53%)	26 (19%)	39 (28%)	138

*Companies operating in more than one filmmaking stage such as: Production/Post production; Production/Distribution; Production/Equipment; Distribution/Film Import; Post Production/Production/Equipment

Location Pattern 2: Foundation Date and Location

Based on the information gathered only from the contacted companies, 48% of the companies located in Beyoglu were established before the 1980s. The research findings indicate that most of the companies established before the 1980s are located in Area-1. These *old-generation companies* are the ones that survived from the 1960s, and did not relocate to other districts such as Levent and Maslak. These companies are mainly located in Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street and Ayhan Isik Street, just opposite Yesilcam Street in the northern part of Istiklal Caddesi.

As well as these long-standing companies, some of the start-ups, referred to as *new-generation companies*, are also located in Area-1 but mainly they are located in Area-2 and Area-3. These companies are mostly owned/managed by the young people and particularly they prefer the southern part of Istiklal Caddesi (Int-B4; B5; B6). The distribution of the companies according to the foundation dates and the number of the companies are shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Location Pattern-2: Set-up Date and Location in Beyoglu (Mapping and Email Survey)

Set-up Dates	Number of the Companies in different locations				%
	Area-1	Area-2	Area-3	Total Numbers	
Pre 1980	15	3	4	22	48%
1980-1990	5	0	3	8	
1990-2000	5	1	5	11	52%
2000-onwards	9	6	6	21	
Total (data collected)*	39	10	18	62	100%

*The information is gathered for 62 companies out of 138

Location Pattern 3: The business activity level and Location

It is assumed that companies which do not have web pages are not operating actively in the business. Companies established before 1980 are no longer particularly active. However, the majority of these old-generation companies and those that appear inactive still have addresses and are especially located in Area-1. Most of these old-generation companies lack web pages or do not answer telephones but are still registered in business databases. Table 6.4 on the next page indicates that 45% of the companies locating in Area-1 do not have web pages; whereas companies locating in

Area-2 and 3 are more active. In addition, as indicated in Table 6.5 these inactive companies are the ones which were established before 1980. Based on these findings, it is possible to suggest that more active companies are located in Areas 2 and 3. Most of the companies located in Area-1 are not actively operating.

Table 6.4 Location Pattern-3: The Business Activity and Location in Beyoglu (Mapping and Email Survey)

Location	Number of the Companies and Web Page			
	Under Construction	No	Yes	Total
Area-1	3	33	37	73
Area-2	2	7	17	26
Area-3	0	14	25	39
Total	5	54	79	138

*The information is gathered for 62 companies out of 138 companies

Table 6.5 Set-up Date and Web Page (Mapping and Email Survey)

Set-up Date	Number of the Companies and Web Page			
	Under Construction	No	Yes	Total
Pre 1980	0	15	7	22
1980-1990	0	1	7	8
1990-2000	0	0	11	12
2000-2010	1	1	19	21
Total (data collected)*	1	17	44	62

*The information is gathered for 62 companies out of 138 companies

Although there are tendencies towards clustering, the location of the Turkish film industry is still dispersed in several different locations at both metropolitan level and neighbourhood level. It is important to highlight that these 138 companies locating in Beyoglu make up 46% of the core sector in the whole Istanbul, which is an important value. However they are not densely agglomerated in one area which decreases the clustering effect. At this point it is important to explore to what extent spatial characteristics are important in relation to this fragmentation. In addition, Ozkan (2009) argued that the industrial organisation of the film industry in Turkey has some weaknesses and has yet not developed fully. She added that the statistical information, research and development infrastructure needs to be developed as does the syndication process and relations between the domestic and the international sectors. Ozkan (2009) suggested that the legislative and institutional processes of the film

industry should also be supported. One of the interviewed old-generation company managers suggested that the lack of industrial cohesion is due to the dispersed spatial pattern of the film industry and added that the spatial integration is very important in terms of having “sustainable industrialisation”:

“One of the things indicating that it is not an industry yet. Companies are still is dispersed in Istanbul; to have a sustainable film industry, as well as sources, investment, projects, co-productions and joint projects, you need to have spatial integration and agglomeration” (Int-B26).

The research findings suggest some surviving clustering of film companies in Beyoglu despite the problems. As Ozkan (2009) also indicated, there are other film clusters in Istanbul. These are briefly introduced below with the factors behind de-clustering from Beyoglu.

6.3 OTHER FILM INDUSTRY CLUSTERS AND NEW BUSINESS DISTRICTS

In the 1990s, during a growth period explained in Section 6.2.1, new-generation film companies located in different districts rather than Beyoglu. Levent and Maslak neighbourhoods in Besiktas and Sisli districts emerged as alternative centres of the film industry. New-generation companies set up offices in these neighbourhoods. As this became popular in time, others followed this trend and moved out of Beyoglu. One of the interviewees located in Beyoglu emphasised this shift: “Something happened in the 1990s and they moved out of Beyoglu and clustered in Levent” (Int-B3). Although it is not highlighted within the interviews, there is another important factor that might have affected the location change, the earthquake factor, which is expected in the next few years. As the building stock of Beyoglu is old, this might be one of the factors behind the relocation.

Upcoming districts

These companies preferred to locate especially in Levent and Maslak on the European side and Kadikoy on the Asian side. Ozkan’s (2009) research indicated that companies were nearly equally distributed within these different districts in Istanbul having similar percentages. As shown in Figure 6.8 on the next page, 32% of the companies in the core sector are located in Beyoglu, 30% in Levent, 23% in other districts, and 15% in Maslak. Production companies in particular are located in Beyoglu.

Levent and Maslak

Levent, a neighbourhood in the Besiktas district, and Maslak - a part of the Sisli district especially famous for its clusters of high-rise buildings, are located in one of the main business districts on the European side of Istanbul. The new roads were opened in the city beginning from the 1950s. The Piccinato Plan also accelerated the development of these new roads as well as the development plans of the government of the 1950s (Celik, 1993). In addition, in 1971 and 1989, two Bosphorus Bridges were constructed to connect the European and Anatolian sides of Istanbul which also accelerated the construction of new ring roads serving to these bridges. These transportation links accelerated the urban sprawl and consequently some city centre activities shifted along these new roads towards these newly formed business districts (Ayatac, 2007; Karaman et al., 2000). The central business district expanded towards the north from the historic city centre (Beyoglu and Historical peninsula) into the districts of Sisli and Besiktas. New neighbourhoods with modern tall buildings (such as Levent and Maslak) became the upcoming locations for many different business activities, and also for the film industry. In addition to these new developments, the socio-spatial setting of Beyoglu and economic issues discussed earlier in Sections 6.1 and 6.2 contributed to the shift towards these new locations. The locations of Levent and Maslak are shown in Figure 6.9 on the next page.

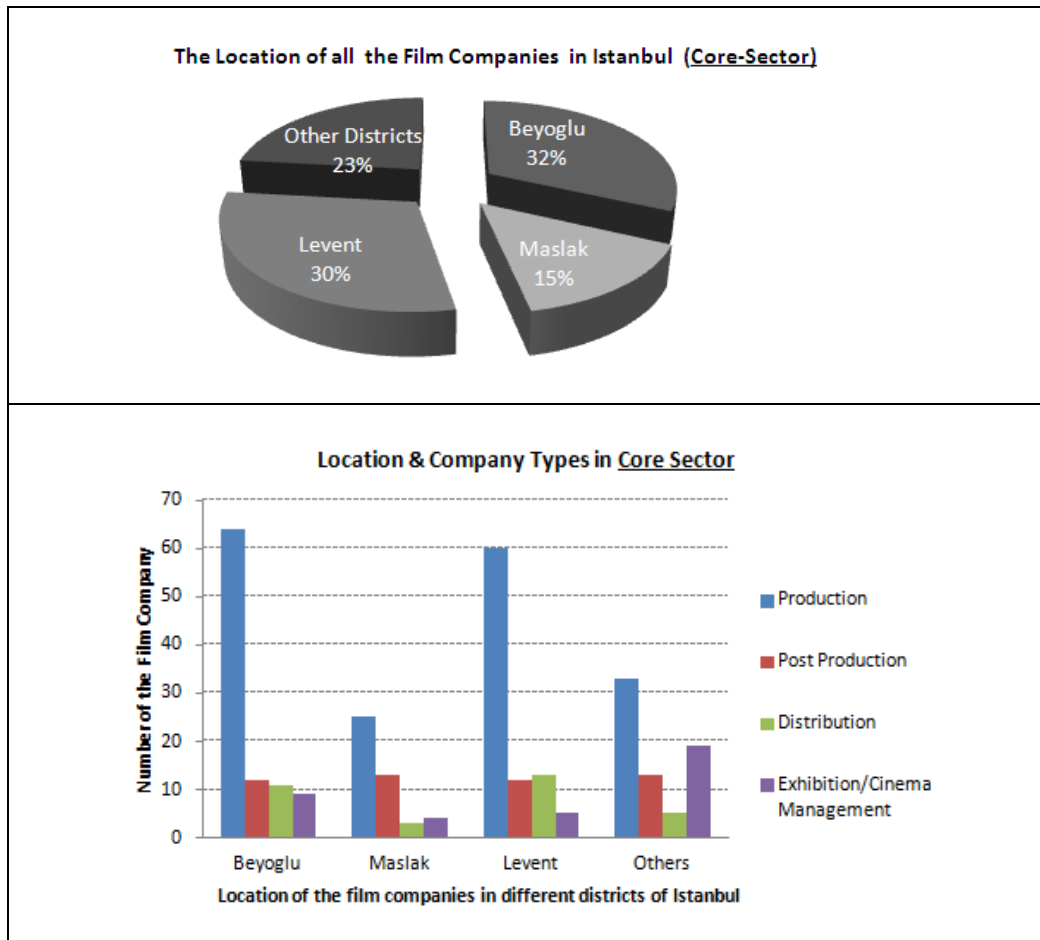


Figure 6.8. Locations of the Core Sector Film Companies in Istanbul (Ozkan, 2009)

* Figure 6.8 is based on Ozkan's (2009) research findings only, in order to be able to compare the findings with different districts. Hence the number of the companies in Beyoglu is calculated as 96 rather than 138 which is this research's finding.

** This research preferred to use Maslak and Levent instead of using the district names which these neighbourhoods are located such as Sisli and Levent. Maslak refers to "Sisli" findings and Levent refers to "Besiktas" findings as presented in Ozkan's (2009) research.

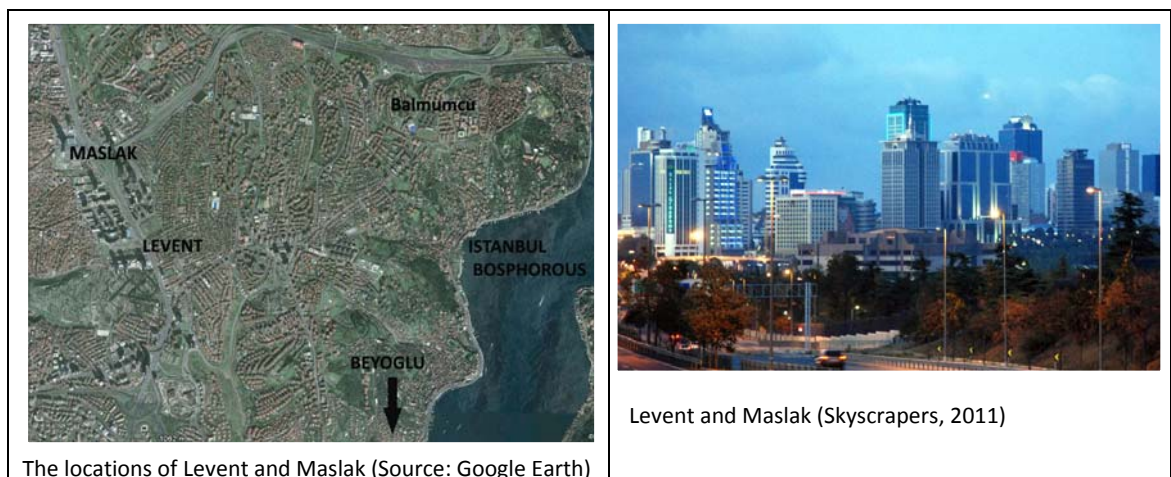


Figure 6.9. The Location of New Business Districts: Levent and Maslak

The following factors are highlighted by the interviewees as those that have a direct or indirect effect on de-clustering of the film industry: lack of communication between the old-generation and new-generation companies, technological developments, changes in the economic and industrial organisation of the ancillary industry, changes in film distribution and post-production systems, a lack of urban conservation policies and cultural planning strategies, lack of big/established and international production companies, development of many private TV channels, and popularity of TV series, a lack of government support, and a lack of institutional and legal frameworks supporting film production (Int-B1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 22 and 24).

One of the reasons for this de-clustering in Beyoglu was the fact that the decline between 1980 and 1990 affected social cohesion within the film industry and personal relations were lost especially between the old-generation and new-generation companies in terms of support or collaboration to work together. These new generation companies did not want or need to be in the same place as the old-generation companies. As they were less dependent on each other, the tradition of being together has lost its importance. The new generation, especially the companies that make TV-related productions, prefer the outskirts and are most likely to work from a home office (Int-B4, 5, 15, 18 and 22).

Factors of relocation

There are also several spatial factors attracting the film companies to these places. Available car parking and spacious good-quality buildings in Levent and Maslak hold more appeal for them. As well as the high rise offices, luxury, detached villas with gardens, car parking and also with views of the Bosphorous, attracted many of the new-generation companies that specialise in production of TV series, programmes and commercials, and related post-production activities. They prefer these villa-type houses or high rise office blocks in these new business districts. As these TV and commercial production companies have direct relations with their clients, it is more advantageous to be in these well-kept, controlled environments. In contrast, companies engaged in feature film production are more inclined to stay in Beyoglu (Int-B, 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 22, and 23). One of the detached villas and

the sea view which is highlighted as one of the important factors of being in these locations is shown in Figure 6.10.

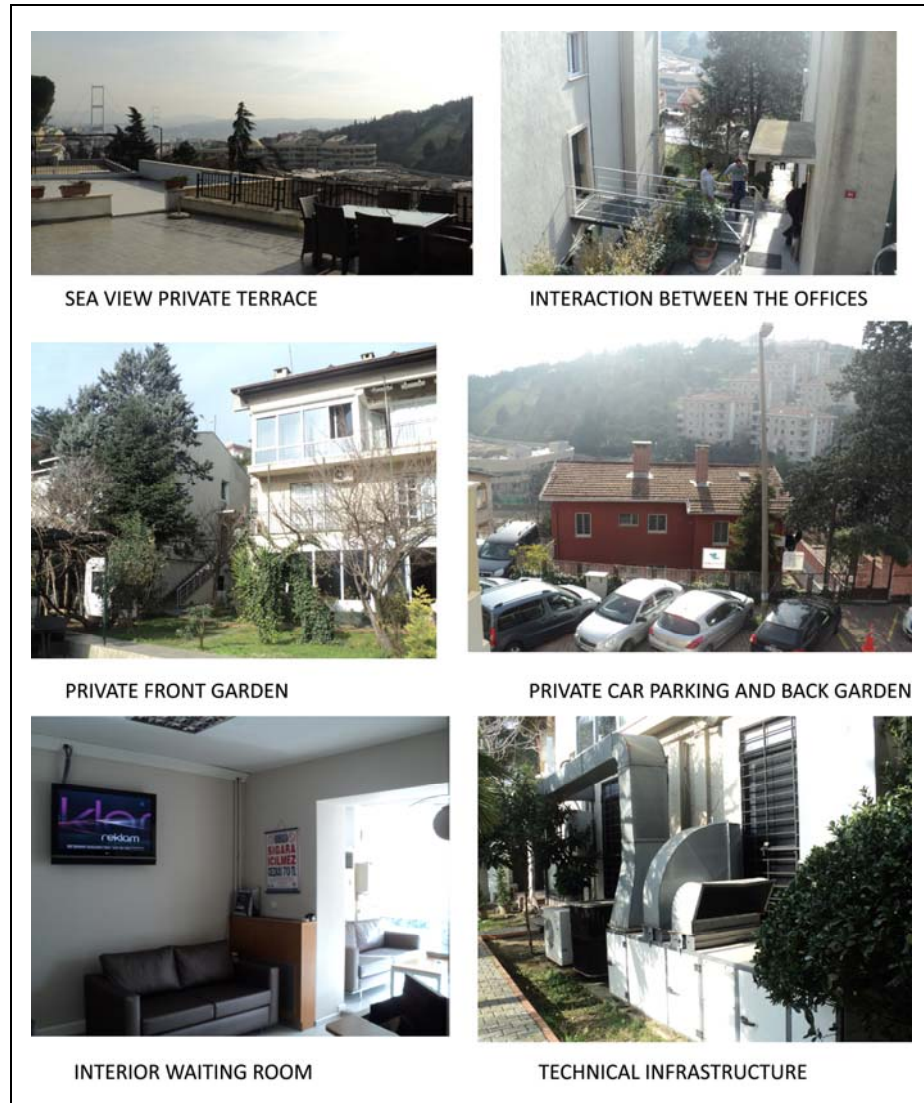


Figure 6.10. A Post-production House in Levent-Besiktas (Balmumcu Area)

Big post-production premises are located in these new districts, while none are located in Beyoglu. Facilities such as visual effects, editing, sound design, and montage are all integrated in these big companies within a single building. People do not need to go to different places and travel long distances to get their jobs done; they get everything done from sound design to editing and visual effects in one location (Int-B12, 22, and 24). Some prefer to locate in detached villas as shown in Figure 6.10 above. These two-three storey private villas provide them bigger and more prestigious offices. Being less dependent on other companies, it is not a big problem to be away from the historical centre as technology provides flexible solutions. These clean, safe and well-kept areas

are said to be better for this new generation of companies. One filmmaker who preferred to stay in Beyoglu but who also had some conflicting ideas about his decision claimed that:

“They were right, I was wrong. It was a better idea to move to Levent. Everything is controlled there; you cannot even put a nail on the wall without any permission. Here, everything is a mess...But also I like this; I could not leave Beyoglu” (Int-B9).

Peaceful quiet environment

Levent and Maslak are quieter than Beyoglu. People travel to their offices by car or by public transport and there is not much activity (i.e. pedestrian-related, consumption-related) around the buildings. In contrast to Beyoglu, these new business districts provide the quiet and comfortable atmosphere that they want. One of the participants stated that he was fed up with the protests taking place every day in Istiklal Caddesi. They emphasised that although it is good to be in Beyoglu, they needed to be somewhere quiet and cosy, with an office space like a home environment.

Shopping malls

As well as the office spaces which have different characteristics, places for socialising also have different characteristics. Whereas people in Beyoglu like going to the nearby street cafes, bars, restaurants or art galleries, film people in these new districts have their lunch, meet with each other, and go to the cinemas in the nearby luxurious shopping malls.

Negative features of these new locations

Some of the interviewees working in Beyoglu criticised the *Levent life-style* and categorised companies locating there as not being *creative or artistic* enough for cinematic production. They have a belief that companies locating in these upcoming districts cannot be associated with the art of cinema and they are not suitable for people/companies involved in feature film production. “I would never want to go there. It is based on consumption culture; people are snobs there... I don’t like the American lifestyle, nationalist, consumption-based artificial life there” (Int-B10).

Those who stated they would not move to Levent are the ones who have a strong attachment to Beyoglu and who have never thought about moving to Levent as it is

not compatible with their lifestyles. It is possible, therefore, to argue that the location choice of a film company is also in a sense a lifestyle choice: “Levent is the desire for luxury; a Ferrari cannot enter Beyoglu” (Int-B9). Another one, a screenwriter who has been in Beyoglu for a long time criticised Levent:

“It is impossible to shift towards Levent. We are not a normal production company. There is participation in our company. Everybody shares the same responsibilities. We are not like the commercial businesses that went to Levent. We are producing, orally, literally and visually. Levent is not our place” (Int-B11).

To conclude, Levent and Maslak have important assets that attract these film companies especially the ones that make TV series or TV programmes (Ozkan, 2009). However, this research highlights that Beyoglu is still one of the centres of the film industry in Istanbul as 46% of the core-sector film companies are located in different parts of Beyoglu, such as Area-1, Area-2 and Area-3. In the preceding sections, the current structure of the film clusters particularly in Beyoglu are explained in relation to the evolution of the area, the dynamics of the film industry and the location patterns of the clusters in Beyoglu. The following sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.7 will focus on the factors relating to the clustering process that affect both the location decisions of the film companies and people working in these companies. The aim is to explore to what extent physical characteristics of Beyoglu play a role in the location decisions of these groups.

6.4 CLUSTERING PROCESS

The research findings indicate that certain physical characteristics of urban place, in addition to socio-cultural, perceptual and economic factors, are particularly relevant to location decisions whether encouraging expansion or causing contraction of the clusters. These factors are analysed using evidence from the interviews with film people, questionnaires and the mapping of the creative clusters. The discussion is organised applying the same analytical framework as adopted in the previous Soho chapter.

The online survey results highlight the importance of the cultural assets of Beyoglu with 84% selecting cultural factors as important or very important criteria in their location decision. Physical factors are only selected by 66% as important or very

important, ranking fifth. Cultural factors are selected as first, followed by social, personal and economic factors. Perhaps surprisingly, environmental issues are not so important in location decisions and only 28% of respondents thought they were very important or important. Table 6.6 ranks these factors affecting the location decisions of the film companies based on the rating averages. The complex relations between these factors are discussed below.

Table 6.6. Clustering: Location Decision Criteria for Film Companies (Questionnaires: Beyoglu Film People)

Factors %	Very Important	Important	Uncertain	Not Important	Not at all Important	Rating Average	Response Rate
Cultural	48	36	14	2	0	4.30	44
Social	34	36	11	14	5	3.95	44
Personal	33	35	26	7	0	3.93	43
Economic	25	46	18	11	0	3.84	44
Physical	30	36	18	16	0	3.79	44
Perceptual	23	41	18	18	0	3.68	44
Environmental	12	16	40	30	2	3.10	43

Rating Scale: 5 is very important; 1 is not at all important

6.4.1 PHYSICAL FACTORS

As shown in Table 6.6, physical factors rank fifth with a response rate of 3.79. The physical factors mentioned by the interviewees that encourage film companies to come to Beyoglu can be categorised as location, land use, urban form and visual characteristics. Of those, proximity, accessibility and built heritage are selected the most, as shown in Table 6.7.

The results of the questionnaires with film people highlight the importance of proximity with 69% as shown in Table 6.7. The questionnaire results reveal that people appreciate older buildings rather than innovative modern architecture. Accessibility is also very important factor. Most of the interviewees complained about the access problems to their offices, thus it may be that accessibility is a matter of concern. Diversity, historical passages, small office blocks and landmarks also are equally selected by the participants with 21%. The results of the questionnaires are shown in Table 6.7

Table 6.7 Clustering: Physical Factors (Questionnaires: Beyoglu Film People)

Location and Land use %		Urban Form %		Visual %	
Proximity	69	Accessibility	46	Built Heritage	50
Diversity	21	Passages/Courtyards/Small office blocks	21	Landmarks	21
Density	7	Easy to walk through	14	None	16
None	5	None	14	Aesthetic quality	7
Greenery	0	Easy to find way	7	Streetscape	7
Public places	0	Enclosure	0	Innovative architecture	0

Response Count: 44 Film People

The physical factors are discussed in detail in the following part. These issues are also overlapped with observations and the location patterns introduced in the earlier chapter in Section 6.2.2.

Importance of Place and Location

It is important to stress how important it is for film companies to have an office space. Most of the interviewees said that having an office is very important for them as they need a space to meet, to discuss and to associate. Having an office space in the city centre with its activities and amenities is much more important than being on the periphery or in a purpose- built creative media district. They also need space to store the lights, cameras and other equipment as stated below:

“Office space is very important. We need an office for production; it is a meeting place for us. This office is like an association; at the time of the production sometimes 60 people hang around the office. We all discuss about the movie, costumes and characters, everybody working in the set crew visits us” (Int-B11).

As part of the location criteria centrality, proximity, convenience for co-productions and walking distance to home are highlighted as the advantages of Beyoglu.

Centrality-Proximity

Beyoglu is located on the European side of Istanbul and has many public and private transportation choices such as metro, funicular, ferries, public buses, taxis, dolmus¹³ and funicular railway. Its central location and accessibility at a metropolitan scale is highlighted:

¹³ Dolmus is a small private minibus with a certain rate for the defined route

“It is very important to be close to Beyoglu as it is still the centre of the cinema...It is also convenient for the people working in the company...Although we are in search of a new office space we don't want to be detached from Beyoglu. If we cannot find a place here, we again want to be somewhere linked with Beyoglu by the metro” (Int-B3).

Being in the city centre is especially important for the production companies:

“I prefer to be in the city. Cinema should stay in inner city; it shouldn't decentralise. To shoot in the city is more realistic and it represents the culture of the city. Especially the exhibition and administrative and organisational issues should be definitely in the city-centre” (Int-B38).

Centrality and proximity are especially important for companies that have international co-productions. The wide variety of accommodation from boutique hotels to large 5-star hotels also strengthens Beyoglu's potential to be the preferred place to stay of foreign clients. Its location between the historic peninsula and the new business districts makes Beyoglu a convenient place for international productions (Int-B23).

Walking distance

Beyoglu is a place where film people both live and work especially in the Cihangir neighbourhood. They can walk to their offices through different neighbourhoods using many alternative routes which inspire them. This familiarises them with the place, and also offers stimulation, as one of the interviewees stated: “My house is in Tepebasi. I walk every day to my office during which time I take inspiration from my surroundings; walking is my daily vitamin” (Int-B10). On the other hand some interviewees claimed that always being in the same place is boring: “An advantage of being in Beyoglu is that my house is here. It is very easy to come to the office. On our way, we are attracted by many things...But I also feel like I am always here and kind of limited with Beyoglu” (Int-B14). A production company manager living in Cihangir drew a map of Beyoglu indicating the proximity to her office, as shown in Figure 6.11. These characteristics related to location also emphasise the importance of physical space interlinked with land use, urban form and visual assets, which are discussed below.

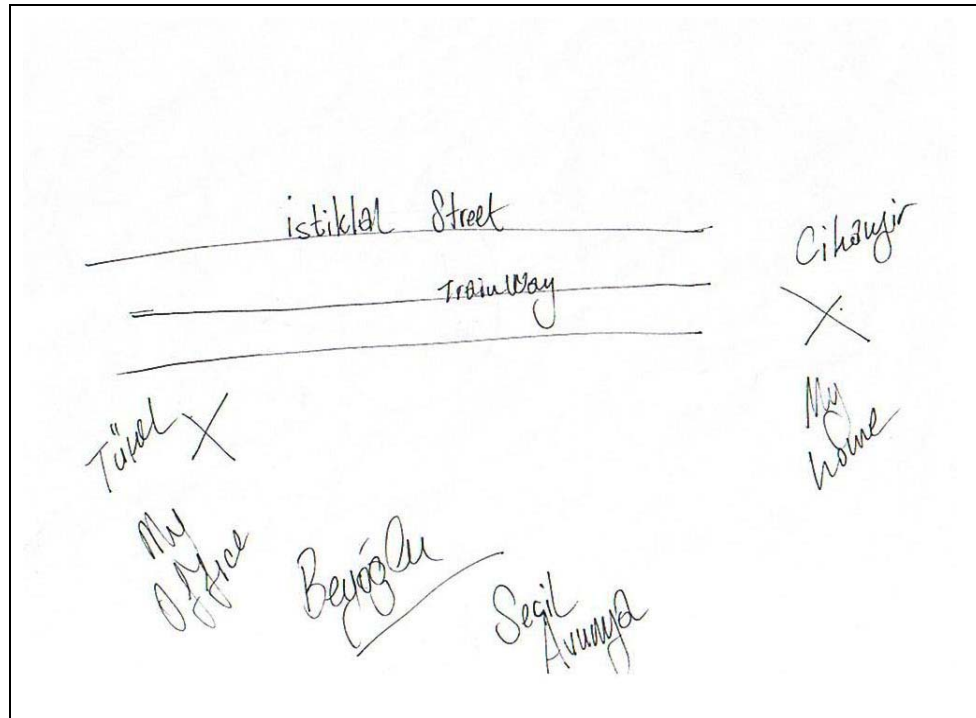


Figure 6.11 Cognitive Map: Proximity of Home and Office (Int-B23)

Land use

Cultural Establishments

There are 10 cinemas, 21 theatres, 72 art galleries, and five museums located in Beyoglu, approximately 21% of all the cultural establishments located in Istanbul (IMP, 2006). As they host many festivals, film screenings and workshops it is important for the film companies to be in close proximity to them. A director stated that the relations with these institutions were the main reason to locate the company in Beyoglu on Istiklal Caddesi:

“The reason why I am here is that this place is in-between IFSAK¹⁴ and Akbank-Art¹⁵. This is one of the features of Beyoglu, the dynamism of Beyoglu. It is very important for me to choose a location in between these two art institutions. I still have projects with them such as organising a short movies festival and giving lectures about short movie-making” (Int-B17).

Historical Passages and Local Street Cinemas

There are 10 cinemas located in Beyoglu (IMP, 2006) and most of them are independent local cinemas, not multiplex cinemas. They are located in the historical

¹⁴ IFSAK: Istanbul Photography and Cinema Amateurs' Club

¹⁵ Akbank-Art: Akbank is a bank which invests in artistic activities and production. Akbank-Art is a gallery of this bank located on Istiklal Caddesi

office blocks, passages and arcades along Istiklal Caddesi. These historical passages also provide an extended shopping space for Istiklal Caddesi with many antiques, jewellery, and alternative clothing shops, as well as record shops and art galleries. These commercial buildings have a direct relation with the street without the need for security or control. Their importance as well as their potential to accommodate creative industries is emphasised by several researchers as they also have office spaces on the upper floors of historical office blocks (Akin, 2008; Ozkan, 2008). Some of these local cinemas located in these historical passages are shown in Figure 6.12.

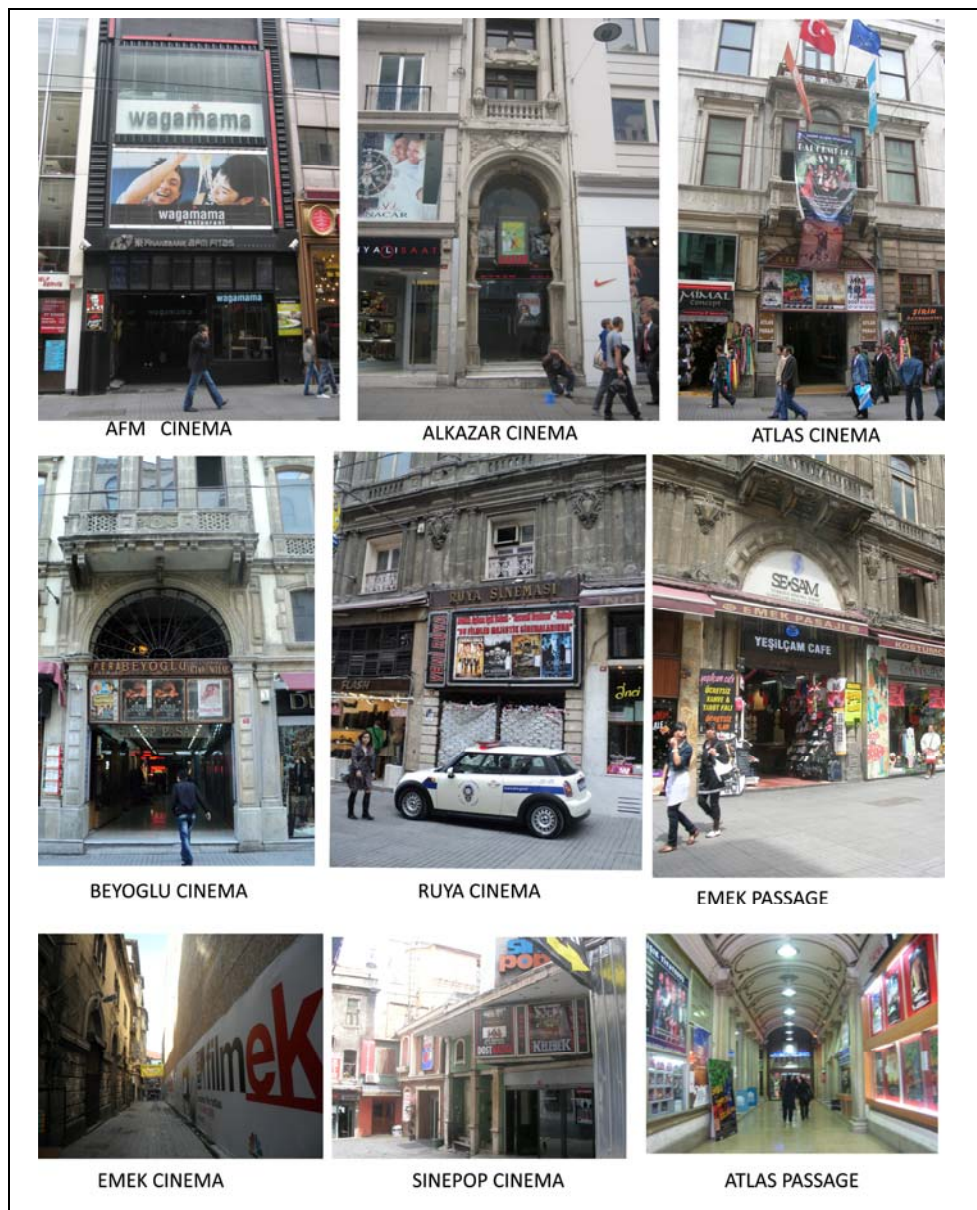


Figure 6.12 Historical Passages and Local Cinemas in Beyoglu

The cinemas in these passages are part of the street life where public and private spaces intersect; they host film festivals, biennales or even film premieres. One well known film distribution manager who has been in Beyoglu for more than 40 years explained the importance of these cinemas with a childhood memory:

“There used to be many cinemas and theatres along Istiklal Caddesi. We used to go to the cinema after school. Istiklal offers a great opportunity for public events and protests. As the cinemas are along the street, after watching the movie you can have a nice walk in the street” (Int-B6).

Most of the interviewees indicated these passages and cinemas on their cognitive map of Beyoglu as shown in Figure 6.13 on the next page. However, these cinemas are closing down because of the dominance of chain cinemas and other socio-cultural factors as explained in detail in Section 6.5.

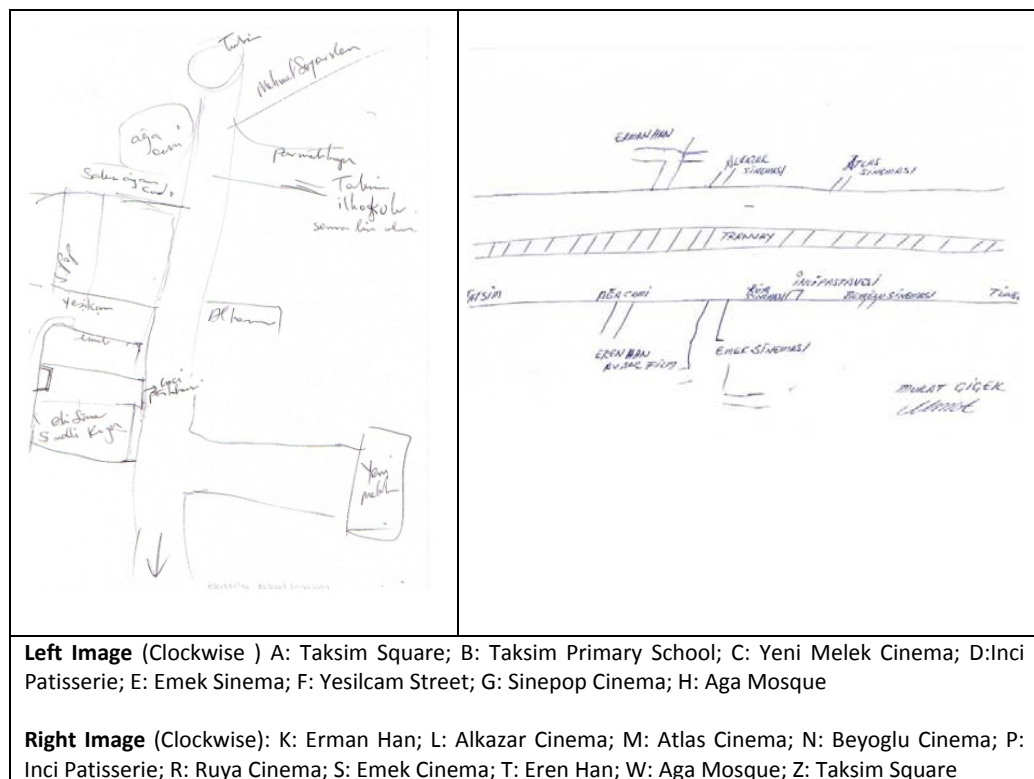


Figure 6.13. Cognitive Map: Local Street Cinemas and Linear Form of Istiklal Caddesi

Cafe Culture

Beyoglu has a vibrant, lively urban life with various alternative eating and drinking venues especially along Istiklal Caddesi and also some located in the backstreets of Beyoglu. There is a range of choices, such as chain cafe houses, delicatessens, snack-bars, tea houses, restaurants, roof bars, taverns, night clubs, chain fast food outlets

and even many different street vendors selling food which also activates the vibrant atmosphere of Beyoglu (Figure 6.14 on the next page).

The growing artist community in Cihangir and the growing number of cafes since 2000 is a sign of the increasing popularity of the area. There is a cause-effect relation with these two phenomena which is also discussed in detail in Section 6.7. A production company owner, who is also a long-standing resident in Cihangir explained:

“As the cafes increased, film people started to socialise in these places; this accelerated the opening of new cafes. Now, it is a new trend to come to Cihangir to see these famous people. Wherever you go you might bump into a film/TV star in these cafes, streets in Cihangir” (Int-B23).



Figure 6.14 Cafes in Beyoglu

Cafe Culture, also termed the *third place* by Oldenburg (1989), is one of the important factors that creative people like about being in Beyoglu. As well as being a place to socialise, they work in these cafes and hold job-related meetings. The interviewees highlight that cafes are important in terms of providing a sense of belonging, job hunting, as a gathering place for lunch time meetings, socialising and a place to work.

“One of the main advantages of being in Beyoglu is to be able to have face to face meetings with screenwriters, actors, musicians, and directors. These people live just nearby in Cihangir which is a new fashion-gathering place of these people. And being close to Beyoglu gives us chance to meet with these people easily. They come to our office or we meet with them at the nearby cafes. These cafes and bars that these friends go, attracted more artists and the cafes have become very popular- a trendy artists clubs” (Int-B3).

Place attachment and sense of belonging also were stated as important. Although it is not possible to generalise, most of the interviewees were single young professionals preferring late marriage; as they do not have regular family-like lifestyles and as they travel a lot. They like socialising in these cafes with people having similar lifestyles who provide them a sense of belonging. A film company manager, who also worked in Soho in the 1980s, explained why he likes cafes and pubs:

“In fact, film business is very time consuming; plus, you need to travel a lot or work till late...I could not see my children growing up. As you do not have a proper family life, you need to be part of something or somewhere; that’s why you gather in these pubs, with similar people to satisfy the need of belonging. The people you know give you security” (Int-B1).

Lunch Time Meetings and Job Hunting

These cafes offer the potential for job hunting, especially for the actors seeking roles in television series. The interviewees highlighted the trend in Cihangir that actors like to be seen in these cafes as they increase their popularity by being seen in public which helps to get jobs. They also have lunch time meetings in these cafes which help them to get them jobs. As one of the post-production company managers asserted: “The flirtation period to take up work usually happens outside of the office” (Int-B23). They can grab their lunch from the markets, buy food from street vendors or various food-stores or they can have long lunch time meetings in these different styles of cafes. Despite all these mentioned advantages, however, there are many problems, related in particular to the management of these pavement cafes (See Section 6.5).

In addition to these location and land use-related characteristics some aspects of the urban form are also mentioned by the interviewees as important to their location decision and also to the clustering process.

Urban Form

The existence of the main street, spatial diversity and walkability are also raised as factors playing a role in their location decisions. As shown previously in Table 6.7,

people selected accessibility (46%), and passages and courtyards (21%) which are related to the walkability measures.

The Main Street: Visibility, Legibility, Image

Istiklal Caddesi is the Main Street of Beyoglu. As well as many entertainment and leisure-related activities, there are film companies locating along and around the street as shown in Figure 6.15. In terms of location decision, being close to Istiklal Caddesi provides advantages in terms of visibility and way-finding.

“I wanted to be able to see the main street from my window. Istiklal Caddesi is a street which everyone to which everyone can get to easily. It is an advantage to be located on the corner of Istiklal Caddesi. As we have international co-productions, the office should be somewhere which is easy to give directions to and easy to find...I have just realised that my office in Barcelona also is located on the corner of the main street where I can see the main street (La Ramblas) from the window. It has also a balcony like that one has; people-watching inspires me” (Int-B17).



Figure 6.15 Some of the Buildings Used by the Film Companies in Beyoglu

It is also important to be somewhere easily accessible as some of the production companies store their cameras or lighting equipment within the offices. Being in close proximity to the main street or somewhere around the nearest traffic access nodes is very important in terms of rehearsals, loading and unloading the equipments and for the actor auditions. For example, during productions they form temporary film crews and staff numbers increase to at least 40-50 people and they meet at the central office. That is why it is very important to be somewhere on the main route rather than

in the back streets. As well as visibility and accessibility, being located on Istiklal Caddesi is good for the image of the company especially if they have foreign clients and international co-productions; as one of the post-production manager stated: “We used Istiklal Caddesi as our marketing tool. We put an image of Istiklal on our web-page” (Int-B23). In their drawings some of the participants emphasised the linear form of the street and the connected streets (Figure 6.16). This linear form is associated with the spatial, architectural and land use diversity along the Istiklal Caddesi, as also seen in Figure 6.17 on page 235.

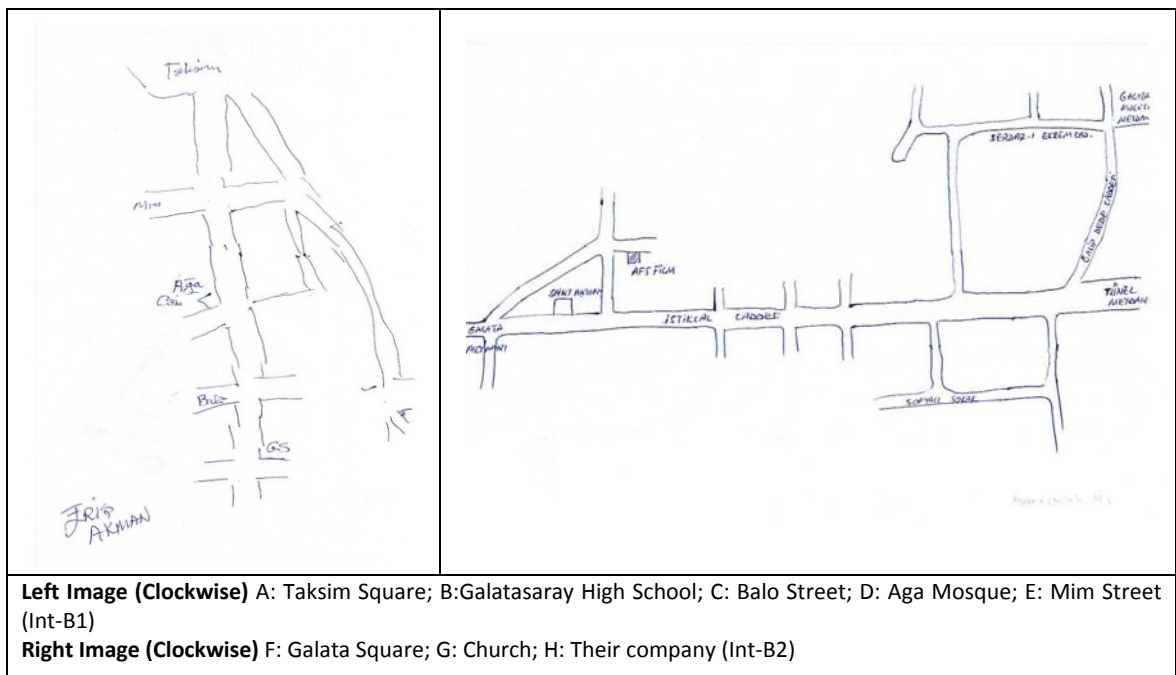


Figure 6.16. Cognitive Map: The Main Street

Spatial Diversity - Film Shooting

The spatial diversity in Beyoglu is indicated as one of the advantages as it provides a variety of options for film shooting. There are many different small neighbourhoods with different spatial characteristics and different levels of quality which provides a variety of locations to shoot a movie depending on the script. A post-production company owner explained this with a particular focus on the street pattern of Beyoglu:

“They usually shoot the scenes like edgy, seedy bar scene, robbery, crime and murder fight, and detective stories in Beyoglu. Its narrow streets, niches, alcoves, street pattern, scale of the buildings and cut-through roads, short-cuts, are very convenient especially for this type of movie” (Int-B9).

One of the interviewees, who is a journalist, photographer, screenwriter and director drew a cognitive map of Beyoglu emphasising the film shooting, historical passages, street vendors, cafes and tramway as shown in Figure 6.17.

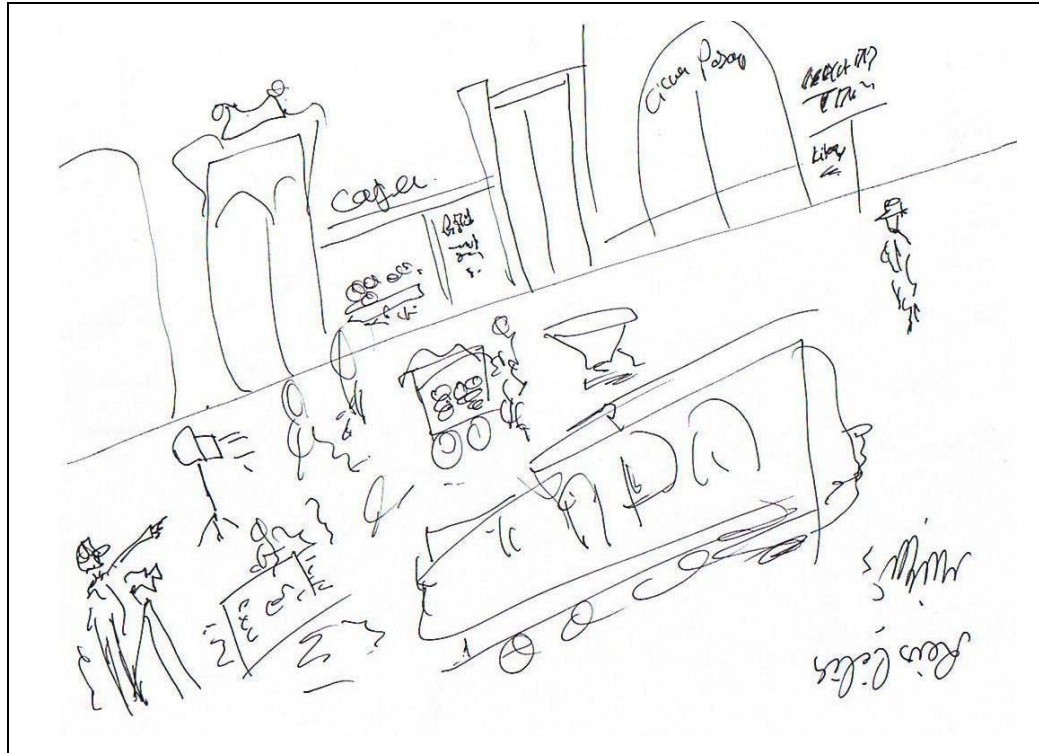


Figure 6.17 Cognitive Map: Spatial Diversity and Film Shooting (Int-B15)

Interaction-Street Musicians

Istiklal Caddesi is a very busy street with pedestrian activity, many entertainment venues and also street musicians, record shops and book shops. The historic tram that runs along the street is also part of its vibrant atmosphere. As it is pedestrianised, and there are no raised pavements, street musicians can position themselves anywhere on the street especially near the buildings. Along Istiklal Caddesi it is possible to listen to many different types of music from Turkish folk music to jazz, reggae, indie, rock and classical. These musicians interact with each other, make friendships, and organise further events. They choose their positions to attract the most people (Figure 6.18 on the next page). One of the bands interviewed was on a world tour and their stop was Istanbul and Istiklal Caddesi. They were a mostly international troupe: six to seven people from Serbia, Turkey, the UK and India. They say that they feel comfortable on Istiklal Caddesi and people appreciate their music:

“Istanbul and Istiklal Caddesi is a perfect location for us as being the west of east and east of west. Before we were playing in Asia; we met with some of the band members in India...We wanted to be close to Europe and decided to play in Istanbul” (Int-B40).



Figure 6.18 Street Musicians along Istiklal Caddesi

Permeability and Historical Passages

There are several characteristics of Beyoglu that encourage walkability, ease of movement such as short-cuts, small building plots, different alternative routes and historical passages. As introduced above these historical passages and small office blocks are dispersed along the Istiklal Caddesi and have several entrances linked with the Street. As well as shopping or other leisure activities, people use these places as a short cut and also linger there, as there are numerous record, antique, jewellery, vintage, and second-hand clothing shops on the ground floors and also cinemas inside the passages. This walking experience also inspires them as there are many different

things to look at along the way. The locations of these historic passages and the office blocks are marked on the map in Figure 6.19 on the next page (Ozkan, 2008).

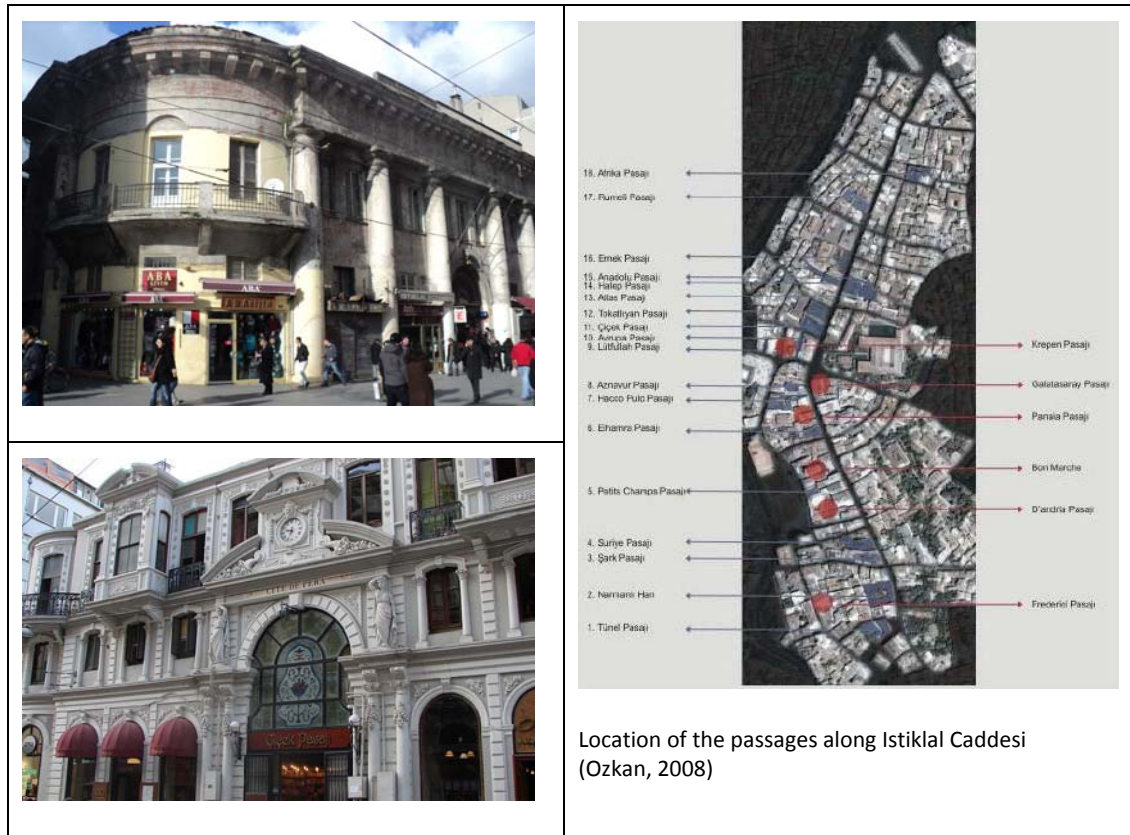


Figure 6.19 Historical Passages along Istiklal Caddesi

Visual Characteristics: Landmarks, Sea View, Built Heritage

Landmarks

Visual characteristics of Beyoglu, particularly the landmarks, topography and sea view and the built heritage are also considered important in location decisions. It is stated that Beyoglu is a landmark in itself, being the centre of the film industry. Although these connections are weakened compared to the case in the 1960s, it is nonetheless still considered an important focal point, particularly as a meeting place for film crew: “Even if the companies are in different locations, the set crew, actors, and directors still meet in front of AKM¹⁶ and then go to the location to shoot the movie. Big busses come with the equipment and all the set crew go to the locations where they will shoot the film” (Int-B8).

¹⁶ AKM: Ataturk Culture Centre which is a major cultural centre in Taksim Square. It is commenced in 1946 and completed construction in 1969.

In addition to being a landmark in itself, there are also many other landmarks associated with Beyoglu such as the tram, the Galata Tower, sea view, local cinemas, some cultural buildings, main squares and famous eating and drinking places. The cognitive maps below reflect some of these landmarks as perceived by the interviewees. The one on the right is not a drawing. However, when the interviewee was asked to express her image of Beyoglu, she preferred to write her impressions in words indicating the places she thinks are the landmarks of Beyoglu. This is also important to show the different ways how these people perceive their environments and communicate their perceptions (Figure 6.20).

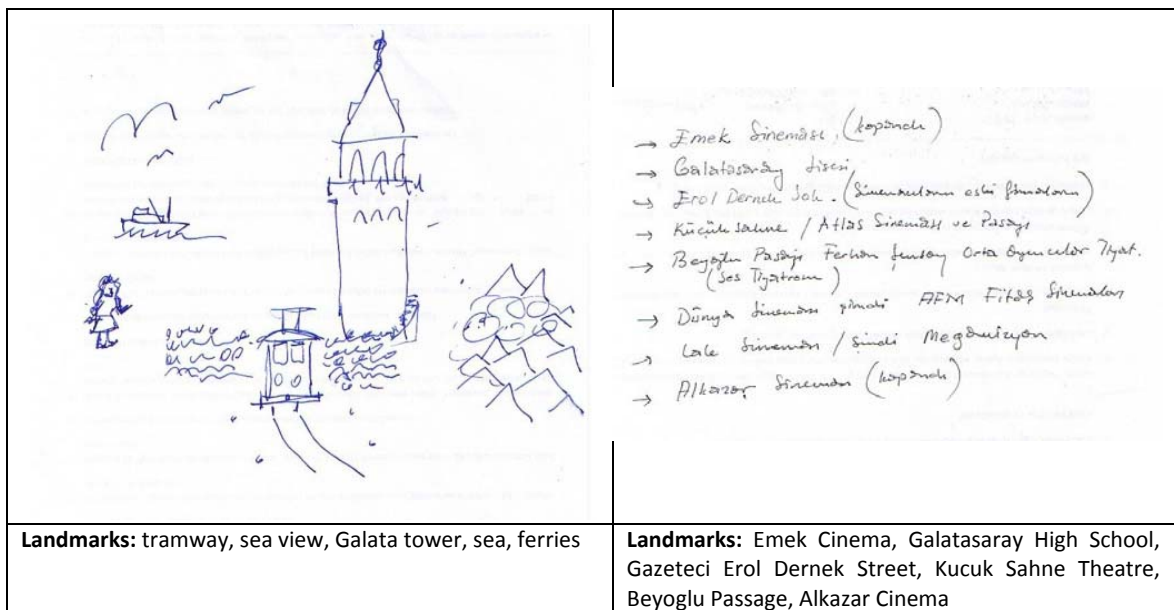


Figure 6.20. Cognitive Map: Landmarks

Topography and the Sea View

Beyoglu's borders extend from the sea level starting from Galata Port to Taksim Square which is 80 metres above sea level. Most parts of Beyoglu have a sea view; but Cihangir and Gumussuyu have particularly good views as shown in Figure 6.21. An office space with a sea view was mentioned as a very important criterion keeping them in Beyoglu in spite of the problems:

"It is so easy; the answer of your question there is no need to research; it is very central and that's why we still want to be around Beyoglu. Sea view, large office space which can be easily accessible from Istanbul is very important for us. We have some problems here; I need a bigger office and also want to be in close proximity to Beyoglu. We can get some of these but cannot get the sea view everywhere" (Int-B28).

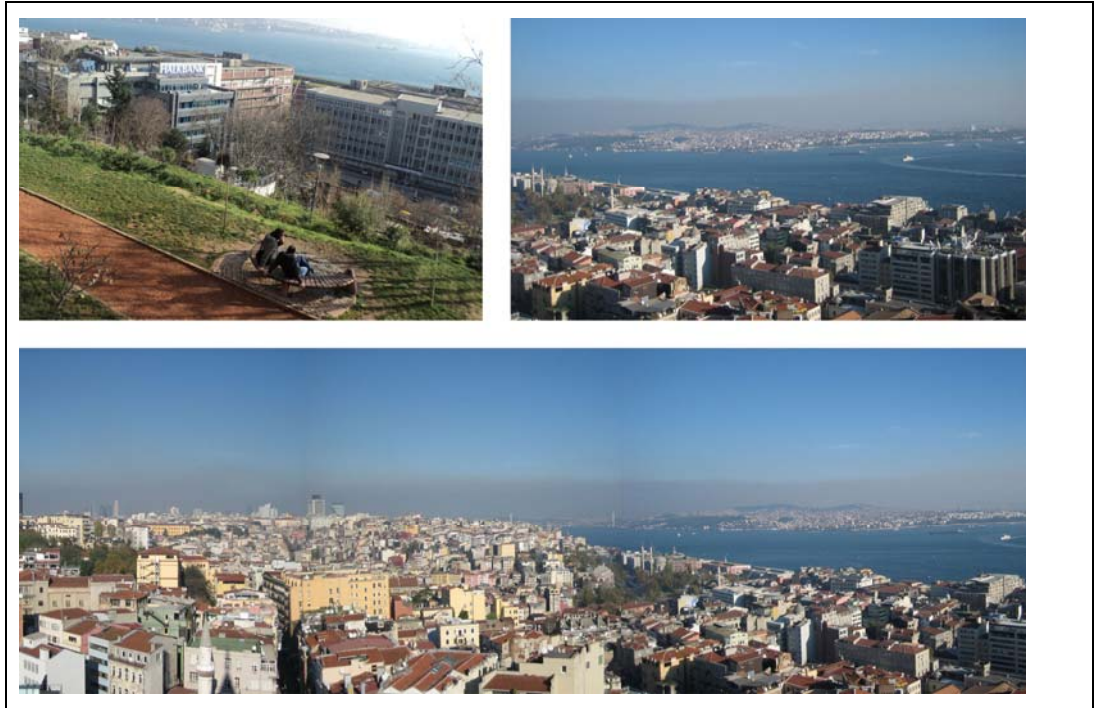


Figure 6.21 Sea View from Cihangir and the Galata Tower

The physical characteristics those affects the location decisions of the companies and also individuals are discussed above. In the following section, the socio-cultural characteristics of Beyoglu that have an effect on clustering are presented.

6.4.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL ASSETS

Cultural factors are highlighted as the most important factor by the questionnaires with 4.30 rating average as the first ranking, as shown previously in Table 6.6 on page 226. Social factors also were selected as important, ranked second with a 3.95 rating average. A village atmosphere and creative people living and working in the area are highlighted by the interviewees as one of the key social assets of Beyoglu. As well as enriching the social diversity, these different communities, neighbourhoods, and different lifestyles provide the real stories for film-makers. In addition, informal personal relations make it possible to drop by without any prior appointment, bumping into each other, face to face meetings, local village life and community ties are expressed as the positive factors of the socio-cultural life in Beyoglu.

Among cultural factors, events and festivals are indicated as most important with 55% followed by 24/7 city life with 23%. In terms of social factors people value social interaction and cosmopolitan structure equally with 25%, and attach less value to a

village atmosphere with 7%, although interviewees did acknowledge its importance. Surprisingly, cafe culture was not selected by the survey participants although its importance was stressed by the many interviewees (Table 6.8).

Table 6.8 Clustering: Socio-Cultural Factors (Questionnaires: Beyoglu Film People)

Social %		Cultural %	
Cosmopolitan	25	Events & festivals	55
Social Interaction	25	24/7 City life	23
Tolerance	18	Cultural Venues	11
Creative People	16	Entertainment	5
None	9	Public Art	2
Village Atmosphere	7	Cafe Culture	0
		None	5

Response Count: 44 Film People

Bohemian Atmosphere and Community

Most of the interviewees mentioned that they like the local village life especially in Cihangir and that it offers potential for them in terms of film-making both as a source of stories and as a location to shoot the movie. With its community life and proximity to other production and ancillary industries nearby, it is easy to shoot films here. The community is particularly a source of stories for soap operas, as discussed in Section 6.6. A manager of a production company emphasised the importance of the support of the community when they shoot a film:

“Cihangir is like a natural plateau; streets, atmosphere, the support of community is very important. Community helps when you want to shoot a movie or TV series. For example we meet at 8 am and can begin to shoot at 10 am. So this is a great advantage in terms of making things faster...Public support is great; municipality and police also try to help. You can easily find figurant people sitting in the cafes” (Int-B4).

There is a trend in Beyoglu that artists inspire other artists. Even though they live in different districts around Istanbul, they meet in Cihangir with film people; or they move to this neighbourhood because other famous people live here. This movement is described as the new trend: “Before people used to prefer living here because of proximity; now it has become a fashion, a new trend, everybody is following each other” (Int-B14).

Unions

There are many cinema-related unions in Istanbul and most of them have offices in Beyoglu (IMP, 2006). Although some unions have relocated to a high-rise office building in Sisli, the majority are still located in Beyoglu. Unions have a positive effect in sustaining social relations. Due to the legislative process in film-making, people need to visit these unions for paperwork and document submission. They are an important link between the old- and new-generation companies as well as providing the possibility of chance encounters for the people working in the companies located both within Beyoglu and outside of Beyoglu. Weekly and monthly meetings are also held by the unions. The existence of these associations is highly appreciated by most of the participants and emphasised as an important asset for the development of the film industry.

Informal personal relations/`Drop- in Culture`

Most of the companies are located in the apartment buildings in Beyoglu which have a direct relation with the street (without any security or reception). It is very common that people pop into these offices just “to say hi or to drink tea”¹⁷, to discuss a film project, or to talk about the recent news and gossip. As well as this absence of security-reception-control, informal personal relations and social customs perpetuate this informality. Regarding this, a film distribution company manager of one of the biggest and most well-known companies stressed the importance of informality:

“I like being here because it is just very easy to access. My partners, colleagues, pop in when they come to Beyoglu. I like chatting, exchanging ideas and information exchange with these people who just drop by. Sometimes it is a waste of time but usually it helps to be updated... As I have been in the film sector for a long time, usually these people come to ask advice about any new project, about an actor’s audition or any director’s suggestion; or I read the scripts and we discuss them...This mutual conversation benefits both of us. Customers also like Beyoglu; they walk in to the office just to chat not for commercial reasons or business relations” (Int-B6).

¹⁷ These expressions are part of the culture in Turkey; people pop in for tea rather than coffee and this pop-in activity is expressed as “to drink tea” or “to say hi”

Freedom/Tolerance

One of the important aspects of the bohemian lifestyle is the fact that Beyoglu is known as a place of freedom and a home for rebellious people. The 65-year-old screen writer and director explained the relation between Beyoglu and freedom:

“Beyoglu is a freedom island; this is the DNA of Beyoglu. It is a place which always resists and it always embarrasses all types of different people...In the Republican times¹⁸ all the poets used to gather in the cafes; leftists, socialists used to meet in Beyoglu in the cranny, back streets of Beyoglu which are not so easy to access and find these people; opponents used to gather here” (Int-B26).

6.4.3 PERCEPTUAL FACTORS

The interviewees stressed that image and perceptual issues are important in terms of prestige. Concerns about prestige and credibility, a sense of belonging, place attachment, tradition linked with cinema, and the similarities with Soho are highlighted as some of the perceptual issues that have a positive effect on being in Beyoglu. Table 6.9 summarises these issues as raised by the interviews.

Table 6.9 Clustering: Perceptual Factors (Interviews : Beyoglu Film People)

Perceptual Factors

Prestige: Negative and Positive
Sense of Belonging, Place Attachment
Tradition, Nostalgic Ties, A Cinema Place
Rendezvous, Meeting Place
It is like Soho
Feels creative

Image/Prestige

The interviewees highlight two different conceptions of prestige as important in the location decision. The first is associated with being in a luxurious, sterile, well-managed environment and the other is associated with bohemia, historical, cultural assets and authenticity. Levent and Maslak are associated with the former image whereas other companies associate Beyoglu with the latter. The companies that moved to Levent do not perceive Beyoglu as being prestigious enough. They perceive it as noisy, dangerous, and dirty with a poor reputation.

¹⁸ It is the 1930s after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923

As discussed in Section 6.3 above, some companies left Beyoglu because of concerns that Beyoglu's image did not fit their company image. On the other hand, some of the companies which have international collaborations and foreign clients believe that being in Beyoglu is prestigious as it gives them credibility due to its historic, vibrant, cosmopolitan, authentic atmosphere. These companies prefer the Area-2 around Asmalimescit and Tunnel (See Section 6.3). The historic and bohemian atmosphere of this area is attractive for this type of young professional. A manager of a production company expressed the importance of being in Beyoglu in attracting foreign customers:

"Our foreign customers find Beyoglu very interesting. I think they would not enjoy coming to Levent which would be very modern and generic for them. For them visiting us here in Beyoglu, in the Tunnel is much more fun; because they are interested in this culture, heritage" (Int-B23).

The similarities with Soho are mentioned as part of its positive image:

"Mainly it was a good location for us as we have international relations. We have another branch in London near Soho, and these two places are very similar to each other. As the buildings are generally old, these historical buildings have high ceilings. There are many art-related activities around Beyoglu just like Soho" (Int-B14).

Place Attachment

Some companies, especially long-standing ones, have strong psychological ties with Beyoglu. Despite some of the problems of Beyoglu, they do not want to move from Beyoglu: *I thought about moving from Beyoglu but I could not. I hate crowds but also it attracts me; a conflict in me* (Int-B26). The psychological attachment they have with Beyoglu is important, as stated below:

"Before we were more intertwined, very close to each other, and the sector had one centre in 1970s which was Beyoglu. It was possible to have very intimate meetings. It was very convenient, comfortable to have face to face meetings, exchange ideas. Being in Beyoglu is also something psychological, it becomes a habit, a costume; it is also a tradition; Beyoglu is the psychological centre" (Int-B3).

A screenwriter who was born in Istanbul and who has been working in Beyoglu all his life emphasised how much he likes Beyoglu and how much it is incorporated in his life and his profession. He has been involved in many political protests which he described as a very important factor in his writing.

"This is the place I belong to. We do not belong to 'Layla'¹⁹. We belong here, in Beyoglu. I am also "A Son of a Gentleman"²⁰, where else I can be? It is about a feeling, being part of this place...Once you like a place and learn how to live there; it is not possible to leave it. There is no problem here. You should be able to live here; you learn how to cope with it. It is not related to paying the rent or car parking. They are some of the obstacles but you should be able to fight with them if you like this place. You should know how to exist in this culture, how to live in Beyoglu...I had been beaten many times; it will be a very political statement but, Beyoglu is May 1st for me" (Int-B11).

The personal attachment with Beyoglu is also highlighted by the cognitive maps drawn by the interviewees as shown in Figure 6.22.

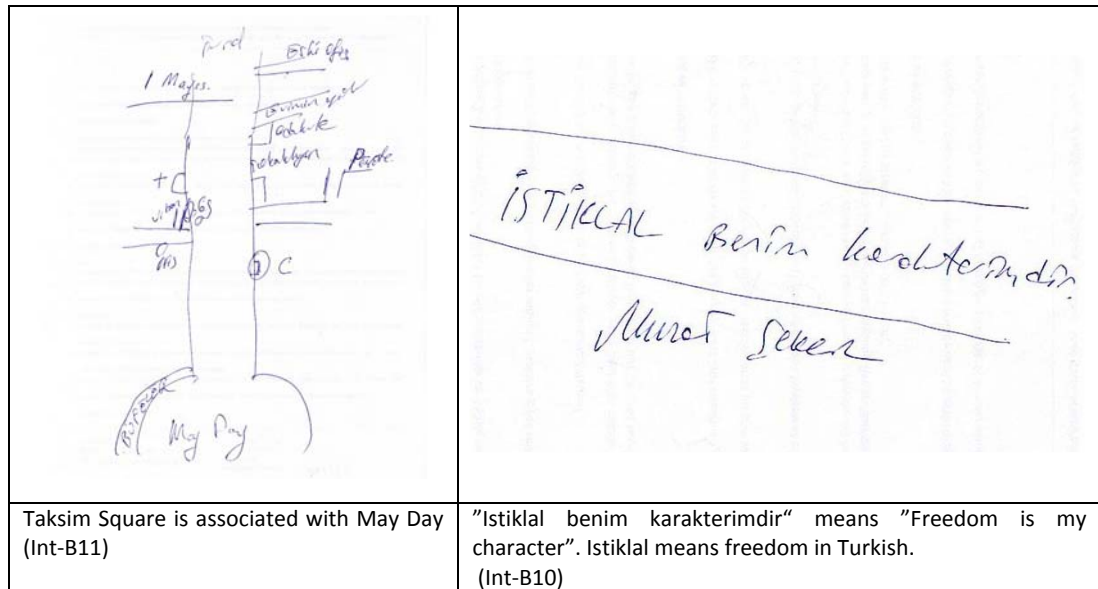


Figure 6.22 Cognitive Map: Place Attachment

Tradition- Nostalgic Ties

Tradition that is related to place is a very important location factor and contributes to the sustainability of clusters. It is highlighted as the place for companies which produce feature films rather than TV-related products. Although some of the companies moved from Beyoglu, the interviewees indicated that the centre of the film industry will always be Beyoglu as it is the birth-place of Turkish cinema and has strong nostalgic ties:

"There is no other place to be; Beyoglu is an old tradition. I have been here since I began in cinema. It is the historical centre, meeting place and the focus of the cinema...Cinema cannot detach from Beyoglu; organic and traditional ties, the roots are here. Recently some companies have tended to

¹⁹ A posh night club where most of the famous people and high society meet; in the beginning of the 2000s it was so popular that it also attracted some negative perceptions and people from the left wing highly criticised this lifestyle. So this night club is seen as a symbol of a particular lifestyle with which the interviewee disagrees.

²⁰ In Turkish 'Beyoglu' means a son of a gentleman; 'Bey' means a gentleman and 'Oglu' means son. He is playing with words to express how much he feels part of it.

re-locate in different locations; but still Beyoglu is the place in which we are influenced by each other. It is a place of creative sparks” (Int-B15)

Another participant highlighted that Beyoglu would always be ‘the place’ due to its nostalgic ties with the cinema:

“Despite the decentralisation process, it is possible to say that it [Beyoglu] is still the centre of the film industry in Istanbul. It is the place where all the rendezvous take place. There are many partners, friends, bodies in Erman Han, in Cihangir and Taksim. Ozen film has been here for nearly 70 years. Beyoglu is still the place to be...Istiklal Caddesi and the cinemas located along the street are very important. Because of these reasons the cinema sector cannot be detached from Beyoglu” (Int-B3).

On the other hand people are not so sure about whether the number of the companies locating in Beyoglu is increasing or decreasing. The public image of Beyoglu as perceived by residents and businesses is not as strong as the interviewees suggested. When they are asked about the number of companies locating in Beyoglu the results indicates the similarity of the responses as shown in Figure 6.23

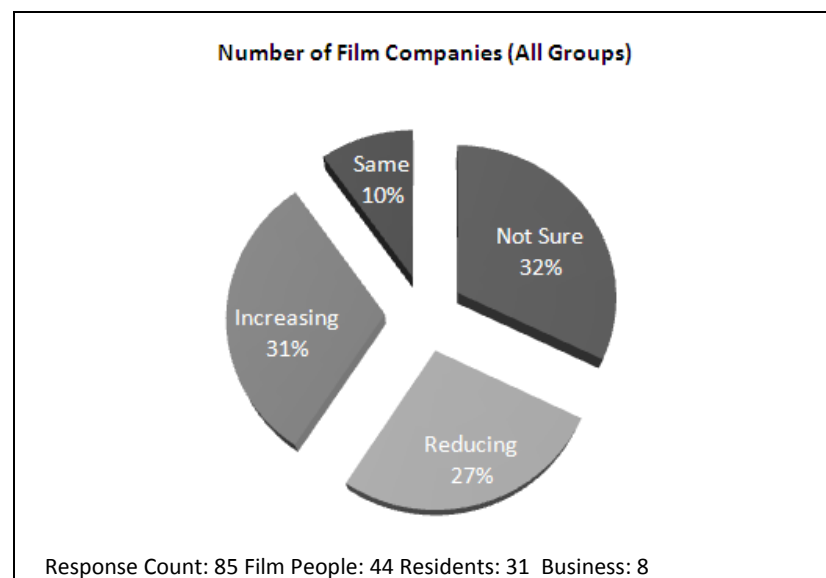


Figure 6.23 The Public Image of the Film Industry (Questionnaires: Beyoglu All Groups)

6.4.4 ECONOMIC FACTORS

The physical, socio-cultural and perceptual factors are discussed as part of the advantages of being in Beyoglu. Economic factors are ranked fourth in the location decisions, with a 3.84 rating, after socio-cultural and personal issues as shown previously in Table 6.6 on page 225. The economic assets rated most highly are the creative clusters with 39%. Other issues are not rated much and 30% of people think

that there are not many economic advantages of being in Beyoglu as shown in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Clustering: Economic Assets (Questionnaires: Beyoglu Film People)

Economic Assets	%
Clusters of Creative Industries	39
None (There are no advantages of being in Beyoglu)	30
Job Opportunities	11
Talent	11
Property/Land Values	5
Technology/Networks	2
Affordability	2

Response Count: 44 Film People

Creative Clusters

Nearly all the interviewees emphasised that Beyoglu was once the main centre of the film industry stating that: “It is the place where water boils (Int-B19) or; it is a cinema milieu” (Int-B18). Although the clustering is not as strong as it used to be, there are still companies located in Beyoglu. The idea of clustering has strong cultural roots in Turkish cities. It is possible to argue that this commercial clustering is a very strong characteristic of Turkish economies. Commercial activities tend to cluster in certain parts of the city. For example, hardware stores, manufacturers, textile stores, stationary, photographers, jewellery shops, and specialist food stores and markets tend to cluster in certain locations in Istanbul. One of the interviewees compares creative clusters with these commercial clusters. A film company owner who has strong relations with other sectors of the arts and who believes in the power of place in fostering creativity explains this:

“Beyoglu is both the meeting place and the focus of the cinema. It is the same logic as commercial clustering like hardware stores on Thursday market, or the photographers in Sirkeci. This is the place of cinematic production; this is the place of being together. Beyoglu is the Kabe²¹ of cinema” (Int-B15).

²¹ Kabe is known as the prophet’s place in Medina in Saudi Arabia; where Haj takes place. It is the sacred place for the Muslim World

As stated earlier, one of the main reasons why film companies used to locate in Beyoglu was that “there was no other place to be at that time”. The existence of ancillary industry, logistic companies, distribution and production companies and cinemas made Beyoglu the place to locate for film companies. They attracted each other and it gradually became a film centre:

“During the Yesilcam Period, it was not possible to get a job, if you did not locate your office in Beyoglu. It was a great potential for getting jobs or making co-productions...Everybody used to gather, meet in Beyoglu. The proximity between the offices used to provide the opportunities for interactions between people” (Int-B25).

In addition, as there are several long-standing companies located in Beyoglu, this provides confidence and credibility for being in Beyoglu.

Creative entrepreneur-led Initiatives: Erman Han

Erman Han is a 5-storey office building in Area-1 on Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street just across Yesilcam Street (Figure 6.24). Film companies have been locating here since the building was renovated by the owner in 1961, who also established his film company there. After the owners moved in, other people working in the industry rented office space there and the building, Erman Han, had been associated with film companies ever since. Once there were 18 film companies in the building; now there are only five. The son of the founder, who is the current manager of the company, emphasised the importance of personal relations in sustaining the creative clusters:

“I do not think my father intended to attract other companies, it was like a snowball effect; after we renewed the building other friends and colleagues followed us. It is also based on the good relations and friendships which we used to have at that time” (Int-B19).



Figure 6.24 Erman Han, Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street, Beyoglu

Job opportunities-other business

As well as having their film business in Beyoglu some film people also own or manage other businesses in the area such as cafes, art centres or cinemas. A long-standing resident of nearly 18 years and a film company manager owns a cafe-bar around Galatasaray High School. These other job opportunities provide different levels of attachments and interactions. He stressed that Beyoglu is a good benchmark for economic success: “If you are successful in Beyoglu once, if you are well-established in Beyoglu, you will never experience difficulties; you never fail” (Int-B10).

As discussed above, Beyoglu still has potentials for being a location alternative for the film companies. However, there are also negative aspects to being in Beyoglu. These physical, socio-cultural, perceptual and economic problems are discussed in the following section.

6.5 FACTORS ON DE-CLUSTERING

Physical Problems

The interviewees highlighted constraints of Beyoglu in terms of land use, street network, building quality, and socio-cultural problems as well as place management issues. The pedestrianisation of Istiklal Caddesi in the 1990s, the increasing levels of congestion due to the increasing numbers of cafes and bars and other leisure activities; the extension of cafes spilling onto the pavements, the smoking ban, the time limitations on traffic access, and narrow streets have all had negative impacts on accessibility which is one of the concerns of location decision. The interviewees mentioned that these problems summarised in Table 6.11 on the next page, were the main problems for the film companies that decided to move away from Beyoglu.

The questionnaire results highlighted that film people complain most about car parking, congestion levels, noise and high rents. Narrow streets are mentioned by 65%, problems related to building quality such as insufficient power supply (14%), and insufficient office space (16%) as demonstrated in Table 6.12.

Table 6.11 De-Clustering: Physical Problems of Beyoglu (Interviews with Film People)

Land Use	Street Network	Building Quality	Management	Socio-Cultural and Perceptual Issues
Congestion -Mixed Use -Cafes -Shops	-Narrow Streets/Car Parking -Accessibility -Pedestrianisation -Linear Form	-Lack of small, affordable, flexible office space -Old Buildings -Reliable Power Supply -Heating/Cooling	-Smoking Ban (positive and negative) -Pedestrianisation -No support from municipality towards Art and Culture -Late Night Noise -Dirt	-Image -Security -Immigration from eastern Turkey -Cheap Cafes -New high-rise developments -Lack of collective spirit and social unity

Table 6.12 De-clustering: The Negative Features of Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Beyoglu Film People)

Negative Features	Film People %
Narrow Streets	65
Congestion	51
Noise	47
High Rents	47
Dirt	37
Construction/Building works	35
Feeling unsafe	23
Chaos	23
Poor quality buildings	16
Insufficient office space	16
Insufficient power supply	14
I prefer not to answer	9
Nothing (I like everything)	7
Tourists	5
Diversity	2
Alcohol Consumption	0
Pornography	0

Total Response: 44 Film People

At the metropolitan scale, Beyoglu is an accessible place due to its central location with many transportation links. However, at the neighbourhood scale there are problems of traffic access to the surrounding streets and offices. Access is highlighted

as one of the main problems. The back streets of Beyoglu are not well linked with the main transportation routes as there are only three points of car access on Istiklal Caddesi. There is also the difficulty of loading and unloading film-making equipment, cameras, generators, or other gear for film shooting. When companies hold costume rehearsals and actor auditions they meet with the actors and other crew in their offices. Due to the pedestrianisation of Istiklal Caddesi the access of vehicles was controlled and only allowed during certain times of the day. This limited the access to these film offices. In addition, the pedestrian movement increased in the area as do related consumption activities such as shops, cafes, fast food outlets, street vendors, etc. Eventually these changes created problems for the film offices located in Beyoglu in terms of access to the offices, meeting with the crew, loading and unloading the equipments, controlling the film set and also positioning the film-making equipment.

“After the private TV channels become widespread, and with the development of technology, bigger film-making equipment such as lights, cameras and generators were put into use. These narrow streets were not big enough to accommodate this equipment and also were not accessible enough for bigger equipment trucks. Beyoglu became less efficient as the equipments got bigger” (Int-B5).



Figure 6.25 Pedestrian Movement and Film Shooting along Istiklal Caddesi

Lack of adequate car parking is stressed as a very important factor in the location decisions. Some differences are also noted depending on the type of companies. Companies involved in making TV series and commercials in particular, preferred to be in the other places where they can have private car parking or other available parking space in big plazas for their own use and also for their clients' use. This is important for

them because they have direct relationship with their clients who are visiting them on regular bases during the negotiation or the production phase of the job being undertaken. Another issue that also needs to be highlighted is that Turks have a strong attachment to their cars as a status symbol which in turn is a very important factor in a location decision of a company. This is more relevant for the companies involved in making TV series, programmes or commercials as they have more face to face, direct relationships with their clients, whereas for the companies involved in making feature films, this did not seem to be a very important factor (as strong as TV series companies) as they do not have a direct relationship with the clients.

Land use

Beyoglu is a mixed-use area with the land use activities serving residents, business and visitors. As well as providing a diversity of activities and vitality, this mixture also creates problems with an undesired level of density especially in Area-1. Area-1 is relatively denser than Area-2 as it is closer to main transportation networks having links with the other districts of Istanbul. The interviewees complained most about Area-1, mentioning the increasing numbers of cheap cafes, shops, and other consumption-based activities: "The user profiles changed in these streets. Mainly they are unemployed people or other low-class people. This part (mention the Area-1) of Beyoglu is degenerated" (Int-B23).

"Beyoglu is a razzle-dazzle, not even safe...It was a decent exclusive place before. Now it is a mixture of different styles, different users. Many night clubs, pavilions were opened. This also changed the type of the people coming to Beyoglu. Beyoglu transformed into a different style" (Int-B13).

However, the activity levels also increased in Area-2 due to pedestrianisation, especially after 2000: "This part (Area-2) used to be like another world; sometimes we were afraid of walking after Galatasaray Square as there was nobody around; now it is also getting busier here" (Int-B14).

There used to be 500 cafes in the 1990s; now there are nearly 3.000 cafes, bars and restaurants in Beyoglu (Int-B15 and Int-B36). As well as creating an impression of vibrant activity, these cafes have created an 'unsmart' atmosphere that most of the interviewees said was a serious constraint to the area being developed as a creative district. The increased shopping activity along the street is a threat to the bohemian

and artistic feel of Beyoglu. It is stated that Beyoglu is losing its image as an artistic, productive, bohemian place and gaining an entertainment and shopping centre image:

“I am very bored of Beyoglu. Now it is transforming into a bigger shopping and entertainment centre rather than an art village. I do not understand why they are building shopping centres here, why? Beyoglu is already a shopping centre itself” (Int-B27).

The smoking ban that came into force in May 2009 has also increased congestion levels on the streets. The cafe owners expanded the cafe space onto the streets, occupying the pavements to provide extra space for smokers. They spilled out onto the street, putting in extra tables and chairs. This has resulted in more crowded streets and created access problems to ground floor offices.

Building Quality

Poor Quality Buildings

As the buildings are old, the companies experience many problems regarding electricity, heating, cooling, insulation and water supply. They consider moving office because of these problems. Those with a strong place attachment, however, said they are willing to stay in Beyoglu and sort out these problems.

Small Office Space

Technological developments and changes in film-making have had an effect on location decisions. The film studios and post-production houses have been unable to find enough office space big enough for their needs in Beyoglu, especially the companies that operate in more than one process of film-making.

The post-production houses in Turkey are mainly big companies that provide services in one building. They operate as *one-stop shops*. Rather than having a range of specialist companies involved in the post-production process, such as laboratories, sound design, editing, montage, or visual effect offices, these facilities are all gathered in one big company. Consequently these large companies need bigger office spaces and prefer to locate in private 2-3 storey detached villas with gardens, with their own car parking. That is why it is not convenient for them to locate in Beyoglu.

As office spaces are small in Beyoglu, most of the interviewees complained about not having enough space to store their film-making equipment. In the past, this equipment

was very expensive and film makers used to rent it from equipment providers. Nowadays, companies prefer to have their own equipment which pushes them to locate elsewhere: “The ancillary industry form also changed; it has become the main industry...It is no longer outsourced - it is in-house now” (Int-B23).

Socio-Cultural Problems

Migration- Cheap Cafes

There are also some socio-cultural and political effects on congestion levels created by the cafes. It is mentioned that the northern part of Beyoglu (Area-1) has attracted a low-income group of migrants from rural areas of eastern Turkey as these cafes serve them cheap coffee, tea and food: “That area (Area-1) is full of D-class people, that part does not seem safe” (Int-B23).

Lack of Support for Art and Culture

It is said that the municipality does not acknowledge the importance of art and culture and does not develop projects to support creative clusters in Beyoglu. Rather, there are several projects promoting the location of film-media villages in other districts of Istanbul towards the north of Istanbul away from the city centre, especially by other municipalities (e.g. Beykoz Municipality). Moreover, people complain that the municipality is supporting consumption-based activities more than art-related activities. Interviewees believe that there is a lack of government support for the film industry and a lack of a coherent vision towards preserving cultural assets. As discussed in Section 6.1, government policies do not support the multiculturalism with which Beyoglu has long been associated with, which has an important role to play in the production of art. A screenwriter who was born in Istanbul and who has been living and working in Beyoglu for a long time complained about the shift towards monotony in Beyoglu. As he is inspired by these differences, inequalities and chaotic structure, he does not want Beyoglu to become a posh, stylish, sanitised, monoculture urban environment:

“Due to the projects of the government, Istanbul is turning to one colour. They do not support multiculturalism and ethnic and social diversity. The recent urban transformation-renewal projects in Tarlabasi have resulted in dislocation and the locals living in these areas are pushed out” (Int-B11).

Closure of Local Cinemas

There used to be many small local, art-house, independent cinemas²² located along Istiklal Caddesi, mainly within the famous historic passages or small office blocks. Most of them closed down during the period of stagnation discussed in Section 6.2 and they continue to close today. The closure of these cinemas does not have a direct effect on the location decision of film companies. However, it creates a negative image and breaks the link between cinema and Beyoglu. The chain multiplex cinemas managed by big companies and located in luxurious multi-complex shopping malls have also accelerated this process as the small independent cinemas could not compete.²³ A cinema manager who has been in Beyoglu for more than 20 years managing a local cinema explained the problems they have been experiencing regarding the management system and architectural design of the cinema:

“The rents and the costs of running an independent cinema are very high. We cannot compete with these chain cinemas. For example we do not have an online booking system. We need to pay many taxes; we also cannot show many films at the same time as we do not have small screening rooms. If we agree on a movie with a distributor we have to show it even though it does not attract good box office; no chance to replace it with another one or show it in a smaller screening room as we do not have different size rooms. These big companies on the other hand have flexible and different size screening rooms and can replace a movie if it does not attract good box office. Due to the financial difficulties we might have to close down the cinema...Monopolies in film business is changing the styles” (Int-B7)

With the threat of closure hanging over these local cinemas, the venues for the film premieres have also shifted towards other districts. They used to be organised in these art-house cinemas; whereas now they are organised in popular cinemas in luxury shopping malls around Levent, Maslak and other places. As these cinemas were a magnet for the many film people in the area and also a meeting place, their closure might affect the accumulation of the film people and clustering of companies. Istanbul Film Festival organisers have been experiencing difficulties in finding venues for film screenings in Beyoglu (Int-B34 and Int-B35).

²² There used to be 2242 cinemas in Istanbul in the 1970s when the film industry was in its hey days; a this number reduced to 281 cinemas in the 1980s (Behlil, 2010).

²³ The shopping mall concept was introduced in Turkey at the beginning of the 1990s, which has become a very popular shopping activity which also hugely affected the lifestyles of Turkish people.

Lack of Collective Spirit/Social Cohesion

As well as spatial integration, social cohesion is also important. Some interviewees stressed the differences in social relations compared to the 1960s; one emphasised how, in the 1960s, there used be more collective spirit; people used to work together and co-produce more. She complained that this is not the case today:

“Collective spirit is very important; unfortunately personal egos are very high in the film business. The culture of being together, working, and living together is very poor...The lack of spatial integration reflects upon social relations. In the old times, the old generation used to have a spirit of solidarity, Yılmaz Atadeniz and the others used to help in each others’ films. Yavuz has the same spirit; unfortunately many of these people died and they could not sustain what they had at that time” (Int-B13).

The responses of other interviewees confirm that people nowadays do not want to work together, share their ideas or collaborate. One of the young professionals whose office is located in Beyoglu, in Area-3, emphasised that they do not need to work with others: “We feel that we are special, we are an alternative here; we do not want others to come here, I do not want to be where everybody is; I want to be different” (Int-B23). They are in Beyoglu not because they can collaborate with other companies, but because of the prestige gained from the historical atmosphere of Beyoglu, which they consider much more important for their international co-productions and interactions with their foreign clients.

An interviewee from one of the four big post-production houses that dominate the industry located in the Historical Peninsula of Sultan Ahmed emphasised the impossibility of working together:

“There is no chance that creative people will come together. They don’t want to be together, they don’t even want to see each other...They are the rivals, they compete with each other...Besides, there is no strategy to cluster people; everybody locates wherever they can find” (Int-B24).

Since some film people cannot see advantages of being together there is nothing that forces them to cluster in the same place and they are unwilling to tolerate the problems of Beyoglu. So if they have any problem related to place they tend to move to somewhere that seems more advantageous for their locational, economic and office space needs. One of the interviewees also argued that clusters do not help in creativity: “Clustering is about similarities, I don’t want to be together with the people who are like me, this kills creativity. I don’t want to share my ideas, my stories; these are my secrets” (Int-B26).

Perceptual Issues

The image of Area-1 in particular has a negative effect on clustering. As is discussed above, this area has become less prestigious and the companies, especially the new-generation ones, do not want to locate there: “People used to dress up before coming to Beyoglu. It was a prestigious, exclusive activity to come to Beyoglu. But now, you cannot even breathe here”(Int-B21). As well as image problems there are also other problems about security with respect to disorderly public use, protests, and uncontrolled ground floor access.

Economic Issues

Lack of Available/Affordable Office Space

The lack of available, flexible and affordable office space is one of the major problems that have had a negative effect on clustering. As well as being a push factor, these conditions discourage companies which once have moved out/moved back. As Beyoglu becomes trendier and more popular, big companies in other sectors, such as telecommunications, shopping, big clothing brands, chain stores and banks have moved into Beyoglu. For example, The Demiroren Istiklal Shopping Centre was opened in 2011 despite the oppositions as the building’s height limits negated the policies of the conservation plan. As demand has pushed up rents, it has become even more difficult for start-up film companies to secure office space in Beyoglu. This issue was raised by a long-standing film company manager who drew a comparison between Beyoglu and Soho:

“For example when we first rented an office space in Beyoglu, at that time it was convenient for us, we could afford it. Now it is impossible for a start-up. As it got trendier, big-scale companies opened up new branches; whereas other big companies never set up branches in Soho. Although Soho was trendy, big companies did not come to Soho” (Int-B1).

The fragmented structure of the film industry in Istanbul with its multi-centred geographical distribution affects industrial relations. The importance of spatial integration and agglomeration is raised by pointing out the current spatial and industrial structure in Beyoglu:

“The lack of spatial integration is the sign of not yet being an industry...More co-productions, joint projects and partnerships are needed; for sustainability of clusters you need sources, investment, projects and spatial integration and agglomeration” (Int-B26).

Move Back to Beyoglu

Most of the interviewees said that it is impossible to move back to Beyoglu because of increasing rents, access problems and congestion levels, and that it is difficult to change or improve these conditions.

“They would like to come back but it is impossible. You cannot open Istiklal for car access, you cannot reduce the rents, and you cannot remove these established cafes. Sometimes it becomes impossible to walk in the street” (Int-B 1).

Some interviewees, however, observed that Beyoglu is becoming more popular again, especially for those interested in a bohemian lifestyle:

“Beyoglu has the potential to attract these companies back. Now the new generations follow the styles. They like anything cool; before, Beyoglu was the opposite of cool...The perception of cool has changed and the new cool concept went back to old-fashioned. Now, old fashion is cool...Beyoglu’s historical atmosphere and the organic structure can feed these new-generation young professionals” (Int-B22).

So far the factors affecting both clustering and de-clustering activities are presented mainly based on the company’s location dynamics. In the following section the issues that act as a catalyst or source of inspiration in an individual’s daily working processes are discussed.

6.6 INDIVIDUAL CREATIVITY AND URBAN PLACE

The interviewees raised a number of issues explaining how they are inspired through urban place. Most of them said that living in Beyoglu contributes to their creativity, productivity and the way they think. The physical structure and socio-cultural issues such as everyday life, social diversity, and cosmopolitan life have a direct/indirect effect on the creative production process Table 6.13 on the next page.

These issues raised by the interviewees were investigated through the questionnaires. Figure 6.26 on page 259 shows the results based on the perceptions of film people, residents and businesses. People in all three groups said that Beyoglu has a creative atmosphere and that film, music scene, creative people and cafe culture strongly contribute to this. Built heritage is also valued by film people and residents. However buildings and urban place are not highly rated; they were only ranked sixth by film people (19% of the respondents).

Table 6.13 Creativity and Urban Place: Sources of Creativity (Interviews with Film People)

PHYSICAL	City life- Istanbul and Beyoglu Beyoglu: a meeting place-a cinema field Living in Beyoglu Spatial diversity- different architectural styles Buildings: Aesthetic delight and beauty Built heritage Derelict urban areas Istiklal Caddesi: Movement and people-watching Office life Natural sounds/City sounds
SOCIO-CULTURAL	Creative people Marginal people Cosmopolitan life Everyday life-diversity People watching/voyeurism Family company/mutual confidence Contradictions/chaos/conflicts Informality: drop-by people Social issues/news/protests Social events/workshops Familiarity with the culture
PERCEPTUAL	There is something in the air, feelings, place attachment, sense of belonging, tradition, nostalgia, urban memory

Sources of Creativity

Depending on a person's profession, his interaction with place and its effects on creativity might be different. People who seem more bohemian and intellectual appreciated the contribution of urban place more than those on the business/commerce side. Place is defined as a source of creativity especially by screenwriters, sound designers, and producers. They highlighted that the contribution of place cannot be quantified or measured. Working in Beyoglu does not lead to tangible outcomes but rather contributes indirectly to the creative process:

"Beyoglu has a creative side but I think this is important for screenwriters, not for everybody working in the industry; being in Beyoglu does not affect the number of the movies I make annually. I cannot claim that I make three movies in Beyoglu whereas I can make one in Levent. However just being in Beyoglu, to live here is another pleasure, delight for us. Beyoglu is the heart, the main artery of our industry" (Int-B1).

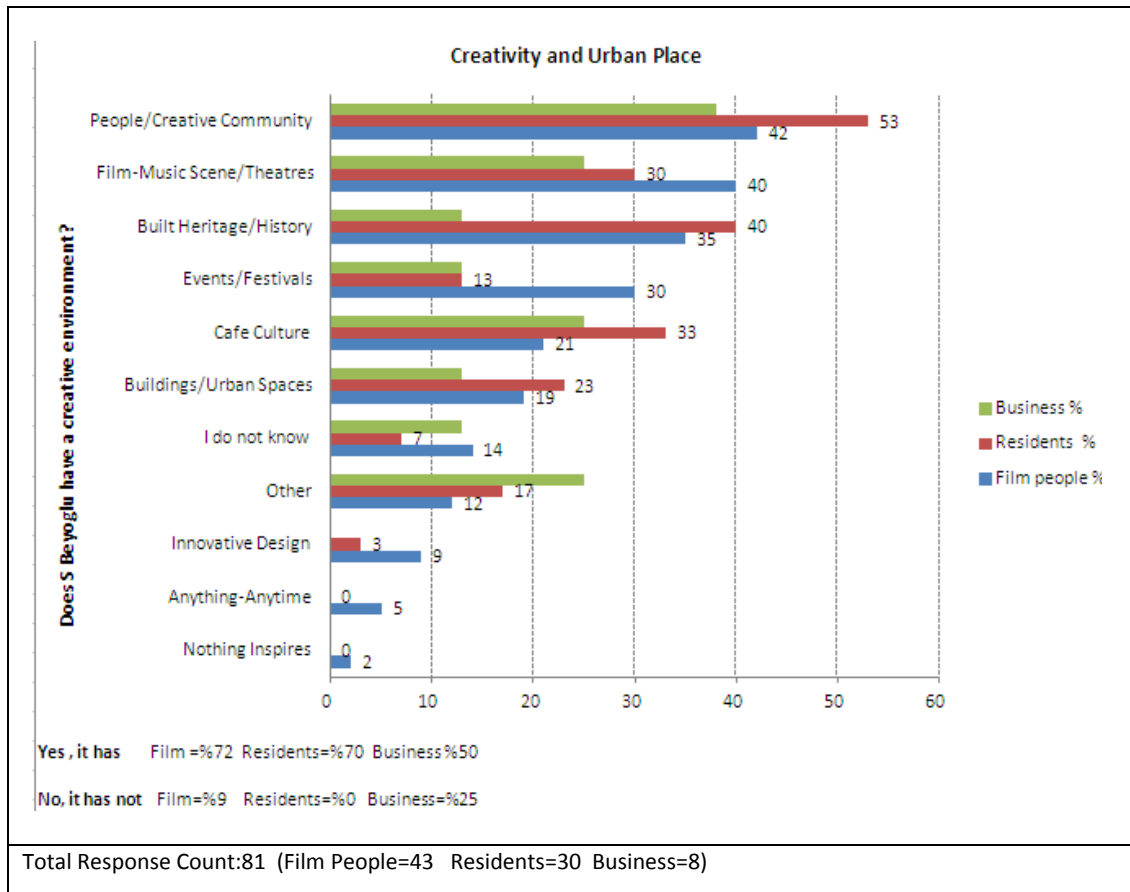


Figure 6.26 Creativity and Urban Place in Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Beyoglu All Groups)

Urban versus Sub-urban/Rural

The sources of inspiration might vary; for some it is nature; for some it is the cities. However within this research city-life is highlighted as a source of inspiration for film people. The sounds, smells and dynamism of cities; the spatial variety, history, culture, people and many other features can be the source of ideas: “Beyoglu feeds me; my mind works here. My daily vitamin is from Beyoglu and manoeuvres are in Sultan Ahmet Park” (Int-B10). One of the interviewees who worked both in Soho and Beyoglu highlighted the similarities between London and Istanbul:

“The cultural diversity inspires me, not the greenery, nature, beautiful scenery or sea. Both in London and Istanbul there are real people, real neighbourhoods. For example, Cockneys used to live in the east end of London in the 1980s...It was very important for me to talk to them, to know their culture. It was just like Cihangir or Galata” (Int-B1).

Sometimes, it is the general characteristics of a place, or sometimes a particular feature that can be a source. The overall spatial and social atmospheres and the complexity of the place are valued:

“Beyoglu is like a field; it is a cinema field (Sinema Tarlasi). Cinema is cultivated, harvested, picked here; you do not need to go further, it is next to you, the ecology of creativity is here; it is embedded in Beyoglu” (Int-B15).

City Sounds

The city life inspires them in many aspects. One of these sources of inspiration is the natural sounds in the city such as people’s chanting, car engines, street vendors’ yellings, ferry horns and various mixed sounds, etc. A sound editor can use these sounds within the relative parts of a movie, to cover or strengthen the missing parts caused by the recording quality of the real-time film shooting. The real atmosphere presented in the movie increases its quality. They record the natural sounds in the city life and create a sound library. It is stated that Istanbul is a very rich source in terms of these different sounds as the reflection of many different cultures, spaces and people. This is expressed as a rich source for a sound designer to create the real/natural atmosphere within the movie. As well as being a real source for the movies, these different sonic qualities stimulate their ideas.

“Since I started sound editing, I listen the sounds in the street more than before; I am not using headphones and not listening to music when I walk anymore. There are many layers in the street, sound layers. I need to distinguish them. For example I record children playing in the street and use this real sound within the movie. We have a very big library, men walking in the snow, ferry engine sound, toll gate sounds, tube sound, just footsteps, etc.” (Int-B14).

Dynamism

The dynamic environments can be a source for stimulation. Rather than the stable environments, the urban change stimulates them.

“As I lived both in London and Istanbul, I can say that Istanbul is more inspiring for me. I am not very inspired by London any more. It is a very stable place, does not change much. Whereas whenever I came back to Istanbul, even in my absence, like in three months time, I used to find many things had changed. The change, transformation in Istanbul is extraordinary, phenomenal. This rapid change, dynamism is very inspiring; it moves you” (Int-B1).

Serendipity and Coincidences

Living in Beyoglu, “in the middle of everything” provides them the flexibility, the freedom and the choices that they like. As discussed above, the proximity and the density are key factors in achieving this richness of possibilities and flexibility:

“I like film, music scene here. If there is a concert you can go out, everything is in a walking distance...I like the coincidences...You do not need to plan your day here; that is a great flexibility and freedom” (Int-B14).

Spatial Diversity

The architectural and urban space variety is highlighted as an important factor for the film-making process. As these places accommodate different cultures and lives, this variety and the complex structure of relations and spaces inspire film-makers. A film-maker who lives and works in Beyoglu explains how he relates creativity and place through explaining the importance of spatial diversity:

“Urban place is very important; certain characteristics attract certain types of people and similar people cluster in similar areas. For example Tarlabasi; there are horrible, old derelict buildings there. This derelict environment provides security, a sense of attachment for the marginal people as there is no policing and public security in these areas. Transgenders, black people, poor people, or illegal people or any others believe that they can live in these environments happily. There are many different people; they all get on well, very well, because all of them are desperate” (Int-B1).

The spatial diversity is also valued in terms of providing variety as a filming location.

The importance of being in Istanbul for a film-maker is expressed thus:

“There is an enormous capacity in Istanbul for film-making; it is like a plateau for film-making, the spatial diversity allows you to shoot whatever you want, the awkward, peculiar places.... That’s why a film-maker has to know this city very well; Istanbul is their habitat, production area and battle zone” (Int-B22).

Built Heritage and Organic Developments

These stories that the buildings and urban spaces tell is the major factor for why they find it interesting and stimulating:

“Whether urban or architectural design, it should engage the people living there...This is also the same for story-tellers such as film-makers or urban designers or architects; engaging the people is the key thing to tell stories and to be inspired...That’s why I prefer the historical places which have stories. Everything is very chaotic, full of stories and very aesthetic...I like the organic life in these places” (Int-B22).

“I am inspired by the old people, historical places. The experience they have inspires me more than the young people, young buildings...I don’t like the new, I like everything old...Anything built new is very bad” (Int-B13).

The film-making process which is associated with storytelling is expressed as similar to the architectural design process. The language, the style, the overall aesthetic of the buildings stimulates them:

“Beyoglu has a very creative bohemian atmosphere. The buildings are very important for me. I am a photographer and I am always inspired by the buildings, by architecture. They stand here for ages; they have many stories...For example the SESAM building; I love this building I still admire it. I enjoy looking at it. Every detail has a story. Buildings are full of stories, and experience of people. What inspires me is the architect’s story for this building. Film-making and architecture have the same principles, same logical structure, and same mentality. Whatever the object of design is, we are trying to make people think with the colours, sound” (Int-B15).

As well as the buildings even the simple street lights can be a source of aesthetic delight:

“Even looking at these buildings makes me feel good. It is not just because they are historical, it is also because I get an aesthetic delight from looking at them, and the beauty they have. I used to live behind the Galata Tower. The street was very narrow, and my house did not receive any natural light. When it became night time and when all the street lights were on, it used to make me feel comfortable, energetic and full of inspiration. It has a great effect on creativity” (Int-B1).

The issues raised by the interviews indicate that it is the narrow streets, small-scale buildings, the labyrinthine streets and the diversity of architectural styles that might create the chaotic structure of Beyoglu which they are inspired by: “Being in such a chaotic city inspires me. You want to react to the problems with your art” (Int-B38) (Figure 6.27).

People-watching and Interaction

People-watching contributes to the creative production process. The buildings and their relations with the streets is an important catalyst within this process. The spaces in-between buildings and the streets can give observers space to interact with the other people. The direct or indirect relation with the street increases the possibilities of coming up with new ideas through people-watching and interaction. A film-maker whose office is located just by Istiklal Caddesi, with a balcony with a street view, explained how he is inspired by people: “When I am bored or stuck, I go out of my room, stand on the balcony and have a look around. I like that this office has a balcony. I watch passers-by. It gives me a space to think, to get new ideas” (Int-B17). Another interviewee also mentioned the role of people-watching in his daily working process: “You can get whatever you need from Beyoglu; Istiklal Caddesi is a potential source for creativity, sometimes I just look down from the window and choose the actors from the people walking on Istiklal” (Int-B15).

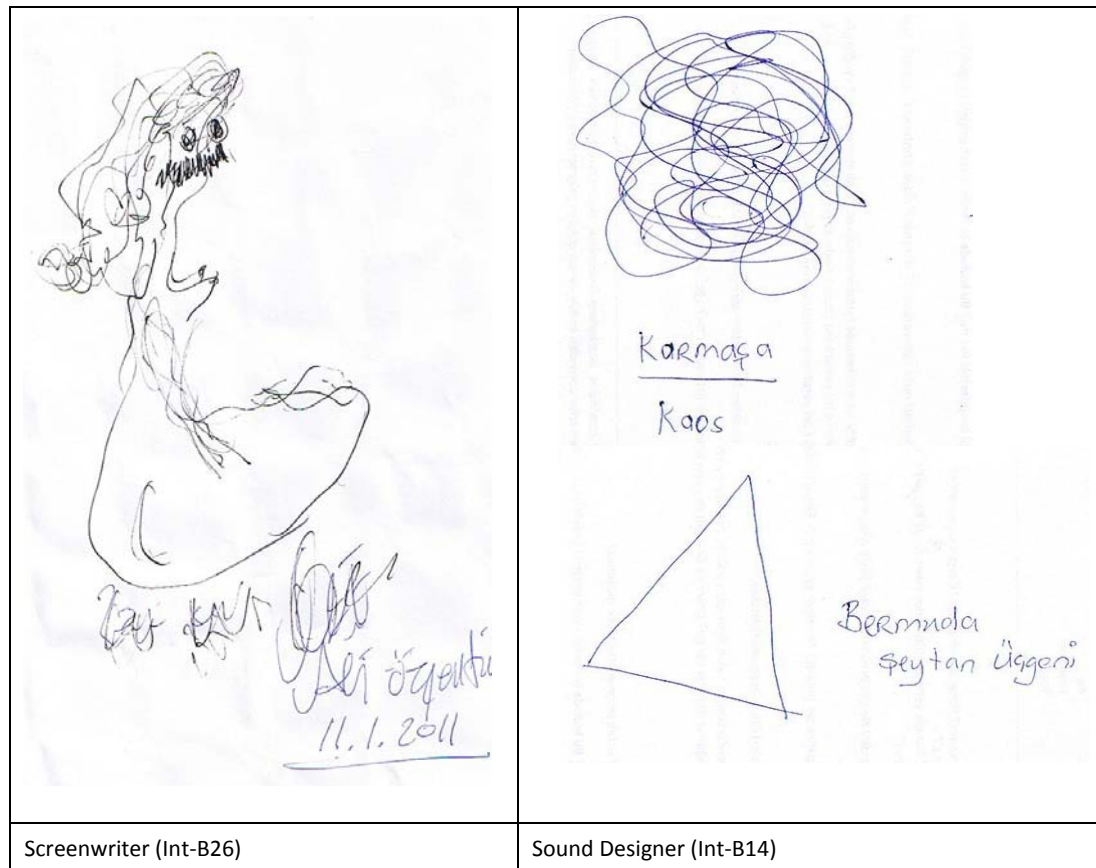


Figure 6.27 Cognitive Maps: Chaos as a Source of Creativity

The findings indicate that people get ideas from each other, which highlights the importance of interaction for creative sparks: “I am inspired by the social environment, the immediate surrounding feeds me; observing the community I am living with contributed to my projects; it gave me a new perspective” (Int-B18).

“If you have a story then you need to tell and share with people...Philosophical development is possible through interaction. Creativity is also about socialisation, communication; these talks help you to have a vision. To talk, to communicate, to be in touch with, to be influenced by others, change ideas. This is the only source of creativity” (Int-B15).

“The essence of a drama is the people. I watch people. I imagine about their lives, construct new stories from them; I like voyeurism. The images I see inspire me...My curiosity is human-focused; so are my inspirations” (Int-B1).

Community and Cosmopolitan Life

Film people like the real stories, and the cosmopolitan and community life. This is expressed by some of the interviewees:

“This cosmopolitan life inspires me a lot. I love communicating with these different ethnic background people. The scripts of the movies, my stories are usually influenced by these cosmopolitan stories and characters” (Int-B11).

“Pera is very impressive, a fascinating place. The socio-cultural variety is a rich source for our industry. It has many little worlds in itself. All the neighbourhoods are different from each

other...Walk into Tarlabasi you will see another world there; I used to go there in the mornings just to listen to people's conversation, to observe their daily lives. There are many different types of people; you can even come across the most dangerous ones. That's why it is an enormous source of inspiration if you want to create interesting characters for the dramas for stories" (Int-B1).

A well-known Turkish TV series (*Bizimkiler*) was written by a sociologist who has been living and working in Cihangir for more than 20 years. He explains how his social environment inspires him when he writes. He depicts the everyday stories that he observes in the streets; he reflects the family relations and characterises the familiar faces he knows in the neighbourhood. Community also has a positive effect on the wellbeing of creative people in the area. A production company manager working in Beyoglu and living in Cihangir said that she likes the village life in Cihangir and the local shops in the area:

"I like the preserved village life there. People just hang down their baskets to the ground floor shops below their flat and get their daily milk, newspaper; this is so nice for me. There are many street markets, small local shops which make life easier. You can see many film people walking around with the shopping pochette. There are also long-standing residents. I like living together with similar people to me who are young professionals, very deconservative and usually single".

Social Issues and Protests

As Beyoglu is the cultural centre of Istanbul many protests take place along Istiklal Caddesi and within the squares. It is the place of protests and the representation of the social conflicts and problems in Turkey:

"Culturally I am inspired by Beyoglu. Every day you can see many protests in Galatasaray Square. It is impossible not to be influenced. Istiklal Caddesi is like News Street; Even the simitci²⁴ knows everything... Saturday Mothers Protest in Galatasaray Square; 1st May in Taksim Square; they are all very touching for me" (Int-B11).

Anything

As well as these themes discussed above, some of the the interviewees express that anything can be a source of creativity and it is difficult to distinguish them or to realise how one comes up with that particular idea:

"I do not know what I am inspired by. I realise later if I analyse the reasons. I never plan what I am going to write. I just follow my instincts. Filmmaking is not something planned and and neither is creativity. No plan; it comes...You also need to know the people, geography, culture. You cannot tell these stories if you do not know the culture" (Int-B17).

²⁴ A type of street vendor selling sesame donuts on the streets

“Space does not matter for creative types. Everything can be a source of inspiration for me; if you are a curious observer everything tells you stories; you develop your comprehension...You need to watch people carefully to be inspired” (Int-B22).

“For example Bahar comes to this office, meets with me, and asks me why I am here, in Beyoglu. That is even a source of inspiration for me. I can be inspired by anything. If you like what you are doing then everything around you can be a source of spark. You look at the world with many eyes and see many things” (Int-B15).

It is not a creative place

Creativity is not always positively related with urban place. Some of the interviewees indicated that Beyoglu is not a creative place:

“A creative person does not need a place; he sits at home, writes, and then goes to the film-maker and asks to make a movie of his project...I cannot directly relate creativity and urban place. It is a process which cannot be just related to being in a specific place...They took their inspiration from what they read, see; from all around...They can shoot wherever they want; wherever is suitable for the plot. There are no certain characteristics. Beyoglu where film companies locate has nothing to do with the creative production process” (Int-B5).

“This place does not inspire me...I can write everywhere; New York, Paris, Bolu, Izmir, etc...I do not need a specific place for inspiration. Creativity is about observation...I don't think that clustering sparks creative things...Creativity is related to being alone, it is based on loneliness. If you can succeed being alone, if you can survive being alone, then you can see the creative sparks, creative repercussions. It is also about concentration” (Int-B26).

As discussed above, there are several complex sets of factors that inspire people or affect their daily working processes. It is not possible to directly relate people's creativity to clustering as this a very individual process, and unlike the creativity of the companies.

Sections 6.4, 6.5 and 6.6 explored the location decision criteria affecting the clustering process and de-clustering factors. This discussion also focused on the individual's perception of urban environment as the source of creative sparks and new ideas. The following Section 6.7 will review the government and non-governmental initiatives affecting Beyoglu's urban development process in relation to this clustering process.

6.7 URBAN INTERVENTION

6.7.1 PLANNING FRAMEWORK

The Istanbul Greater Municipality and Beyoglu Municipality adopted the master plan approach which is based on land-use planning. Plans are named according to their scales, not their purpose. There are several different scale plans guiding the planning

process in Beyoglu; the metropolitan scale 1/100.000, 1/50.000, 1/25.000 and 1/5000 scale master plans and 1/1000 scale Beyoglu Urban Conservation Area Development Plan which are all prepared by the Greater Istanbul Municipality²⁵. These plans guide the planning process in Beyoglu which are based on *masterplan-led approach* (Kocabas, 2006; Oc and Tiesdell, 1994). Generally, plans which exceed 1/1000 are developed by the greater municipalities whereas 1/1000 plans are developed by local municipalities. However in the case of Beyoglu, its plans are also developed by the Istanbul Greater Municipality (Int-B29). Kocabas (2006: 114) defines this planning process as “A combination of formal, statutory, land-use Master Plans and informal infrastructure investment plans, operating in parallel and often in conflict within a tradition of inefficient bureaucracy and non-participation of the public”. She defines the planning as very much a top-down process which is based on the 1980s’ *a culture of non-participation*, derived from the wider political culture (Kocabas, 2006: 114).

Although Beyoglu was launched as an urban conservation area in 1993, the related development plans were not produced until after 2009. The conservation plan has been updated, but excludes several zones which have been identified as ‘Urban Renewal Areas’ as shown in Figure 6.28 on the next page. These areas are excluded from the principles of the conservation plan, and hence are not subject to the conservation policies. Rather than being based on a local development framework these plans are prepared by the Central Government²⁶ (Int-B29). The areas hatched within the main conservation plan are Urban Renewal Areas. One of them is Tarlabasi which contributes to the area’s social diversity with its multi-ethnic structure and sex workers; but which also has a low-income group as also mentioned by the interviewees. As the area has a deprived look and is perceived as an inner-city slum area, the Municipality wants to get rid of this reputation by upgrading the physical environment and dislocating the residents (Int-B11, Int-B30 and Int-B36). Other Urban Renewal Areas are also historic neighbourhoods which the Municipality wants to renew for other touristic and commercial purposes. These Urban Renewal Areas drew

²⁵ 1/1000 development plans are prepared by the local government; as Beyoglu is a conservation area the development plan is prepared by the Greater Istanbul Municipality.

²⁶ Galata Tower Renewal Area plan is developed by the Ministry of Tourism.

public protests and opposition, led by the community associations and other non-governmental organisations.

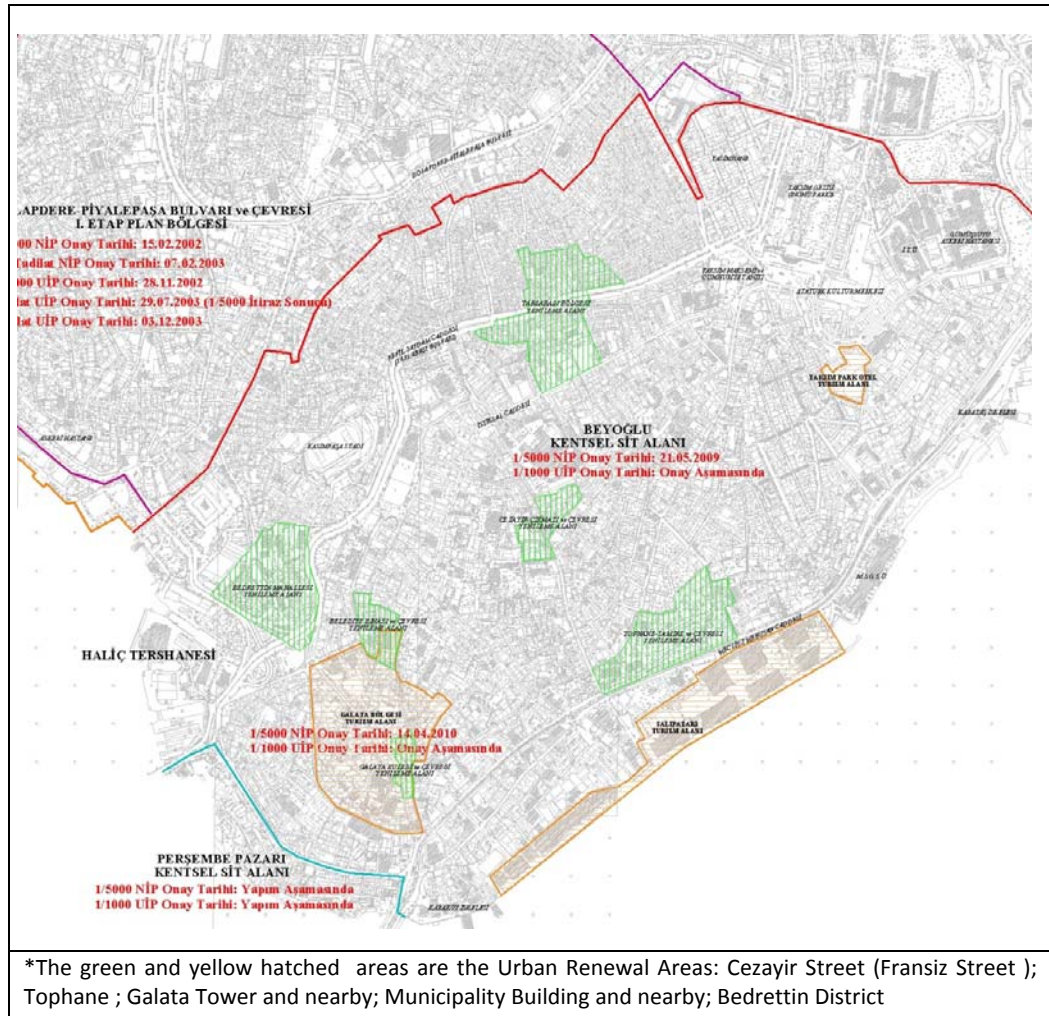


Figure 6.28 The Boundaries of the Urban Conservation Plane and the Urban Renewal Areas (Beyoglu Municipality, 2010; Int-B29)

6.7.2 URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN BEYOGLU

As demonstrated by the questionnaire results, most of the residents, business and film people think that Beyoglu is changing. Only 9% of the respondents stated that it is same, whereas 38% of them indicated the change. People have conflicting ideas about the characteristics of this change. The numbers are equal; 27% people stated that it is declining and 26% of them indicated that it is upgrading (Figure 6.29).

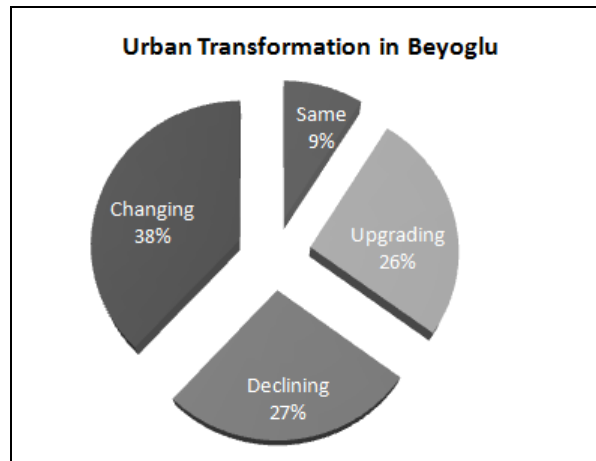


Figure 6.29 Urban Transformation in Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Beyoglu All Groups)

It is highlighted that it is becoming a more diverse, cosmopolitan place as one of the indicators of positive change, with 22% of the respondents indicating that it is becoming cosmopolitan and only 11% of them indicating that its bohemian look is increasing. Other factors are highlighted as equally important, such as safety, distinctiveness and quietness with approximately 5%. People who believe that Beyoglu is in the process of a decline expressed that it is becoming noisy (35%), posh and trendy (24%) and a dangerous place (20%) (Table 6.14)

Table 6.14 Characteristics of Urban Change in Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Beyoglu All Groups)

Positive Characteristics	%	Negative Characteristics	%
Diverse/Cosmopolitan	22	Homogenised	5
Bohemian	11	Posh	24
Safer	6	Dangerous	20
Distinctive	6	Uncharacteristic	2
Cleaner	5	Dirtier	12
Sanitised (Bakımlı in Turkish)	6	Seedy (Bakımsız in Turkish)	6
Quiet	2	Noisy	35

*Total number of responses is 82 (Film People 43; Residents 31; Business 8)

**People selected more than one factor

The role of cafe culture is perceived as a major factor in this change (34%); followed by community involvement (22%) and film industry (21%). The projects of Beyoglu Municipality and the effect of new development projects are not selected much. This can be interpreted as a negative factor, as the interviews also raised issues criticising the projects and the approach of the municipality (Table 6.15). Apart from the factors indicated in Table 6.15, other factors that contribute to this change are shown in Table 6.16.

Table 6.15 Factors of Urban Transformation in Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Beyoglu All)

FACTORS OF CHANGE	%	Responses (In numbers) *		
	ALL %	Film P.	Residents	Business
Cafe Culture	41	13	18	3
Other	30	10	12	3
Community Involvement	27	12	7	3
Film Industry	26	9	8	4
Architecture/planning: New Developments	22	13	4	1
Film/Music Scene/Theatres	22	11	3	4
Projects of Beyoglu Municipality	21	5	11	1
Artists	20	8	7	1
Technology (Disruptive)	10	3	5	0
Resident Associations	10	3	4	1
Police Control	6	4	1	0
None	5	3	0	1
Technology (Supportive)	0	0	0	0

*Total responses= 82 (Film people=43 Residents=31 Business=8)

Table 6.16 Other Factors Affecting Urban Transformation

Research Participants	Other factors highlighted
Film People	As well as a workplace it is becoming a home; cultural buildings, art institutions; urban transformation projects; unresponsive people; smoking ban; other neighbourhoods such as Asmalimescit and Galata; real estate agencies; developers; centrality
Residents	Central and local government's wrong urban policies; social transformation and internal migration; foreign investment, chain stores, department stores; media's interest; dislocation of artists due to increasing rents
Business	TV series, magazine; centrality; consulates, universities, apart-hotels and hostels

Below, some of these factors (cafe culture, film industry and community Involvement) are discussed, reviewing the policies of municipality and planning documents. The effects of these factors on the clustering/de-clustering of the film companies are analysed.

Projects Undertaken by the Municipality

1980s Urban Reconstruction

It is possible to argue that urban policies are very effective in the development of Beyoglu. The projects are guided by the visions of the individual mayors rather than the strategic plans (Ayatac, 2007; Bezmez, 2009). Beyoglu has witnessed a serious reconstruction process beginning from the 1980s with the projects of Mayor Dalan who initiated a massive project named '*Beyoglu Project*' as part of his 'mega projects' aiming to open a new eight-lane motorway linking Beyoglu with the rest of the city, and to pedestrianise Istiklal Caddesi. He invested in new roads and in preserving the urban heritage instead of upgrading the city centre (Ayatac, 2007; Bezmez, 2009). He opened Tarlabasi Boulevard in 1988 which resulting in the demolition of many registered buildings in the area and dislocated the local residents (Figure 6.31 on the next page).

The pedestrianisation of Istiklal Caddesi is also part of his '*Beyoglu Project*'. He initiated the project, aiming to ease pedestrian movement in the street and to support the development of consumption-based activities (Ilkucan, 2004; Kocabas, 2006). After the pedestrianisation of the street in 1990, the street was closed to vehicles which accelerated the opening of new shops, cafes, and other leisure-based activities in the area (Altunbas, 2006). The effect of pedestrianisation is discussed above (Section 6.3.2) as a reason for the dispersal of film clusters in Beyoglu. The change of Istiklal Caddesi is illustrated in Figure 6.30 on the next page with the images taken in different years.

2000s Urban Renewal Projects

The Urban Renewal Projects, as discussed previously and shown in Figure 6.28 include Cezayir Street Project, Tophane Area Project, Galata Tower and the Surrounding Area Project, Municipality Building and the Surrounding Area Project, Bedrettin District Renewal Project and Tarlabasi Renewal Project which are defined in the 1/1000 development plan. Although local neighbourhood associations opposed the new 1/1000 development plan, the Municipality put the new plan into practice in February 2011. It is said that these renewal projects will cause the dislocation of local residents and will lead to gentrification of the area (Int-B11; B30; B36). One of them, Tarlabasi

Renewal Project is shown in Figure 6.31 on the next page. As discussed before the interviewees emphasised that these neighbourhoods are the strong assets of Beyoglu providing many sources of inspirations.



Figure 6.30 Istiklal Caddesi Before and After

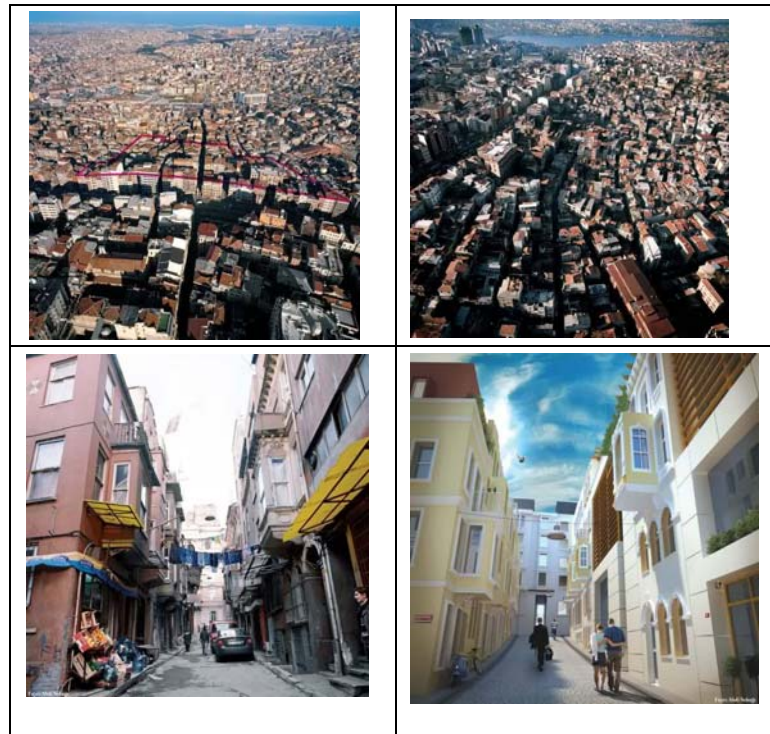


Figure 6.31 Tarlabasi Avenue and Tarlabasi Renewal Project (Skyscrapercity, 2011)

Film Industry and Cafe Culture

In addition to these government policies other factors were also found to be affecting the development process. The survey results highlight that the film industry also plays a key role in the transformation process of Beyoglu (Table 6.15 on page 269). In Cihangir in particular, both the film sector and companies which have located in the neighbourhood have acted as catalysts for this change. Besides, many TV series and films are shot in Cihangir which increases the popularity of the area. The increasing number of cafes in Cihangir and the bohemian lifestyle attracts these people and consequently, all these factors combined give impetus to urban change in both Cihangir and Beyoglu. In addition, the projects initiated by entrepreneurs as explained below explain the role of the film industry.

Creative Person-Entrepreneur-led Initiatives

Cezayir Street Project

Cezayir Street Project²⁷ was launched in 2004 by an entrepreneur and the project is also supported by a film company located around this area and a private university

²⁷ Cezayir Street also named as French Street due to the similarities of its architectural style with French style.

(Int-B39). It includes the streetscape improvement, painting of the buildings and instalment of street furniture. In addition, many French-style cafes, bars and restaurants, book and souvenir shops, as well as a small hotel for the visitors and a Beyoglu information and tourism centre opened in the area (Figure 6.32).

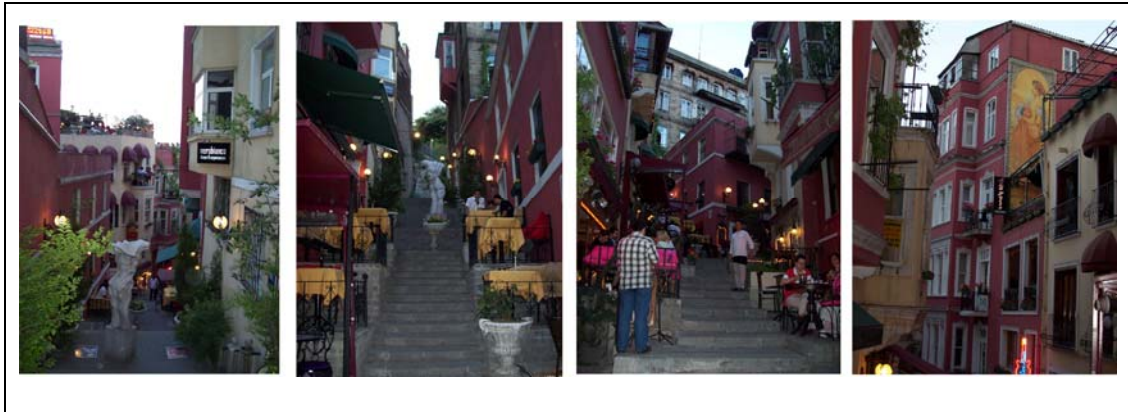


Figure 6.32 Cezayir Street Cafes, 2006

The Plato Cinema School

The interventions in Beyoglu of a well-known Turkish Director, Sinan Cetin, are also important. He established a private cinema school named the Plato Cinema School transforming an old residential building into an education institute. Alongside this private school will be a Turkish University college, based on an agreement between the Turkish Higher Education Institute and Sinan Cetin (Plato Film, 2009). In addition, Cetin bought old houses near this school and renewed them. Some of them are used as film production offices, studios and sets, and others are used for costume and cinema technical equipment storage. It appears the area will see further developments, such as an increase in student accommodation, new offices, and film studios. The effect of Sinan Cetin on the neighbourhood is well known by the local people. Cihangir is also named after him, as Sinangir, as he is one of the area's main land owners (Figure 6.33).

It is highlighted that the film industry contributes promotes the neighbourhood. A business owner and also a resident who has lived in Cihangir since 1990 expressed the importance of the film industry for the area: "The film industry contributes to the economy; Cihangir is a place of film shooting". Another long-standing resident since 1975 shared her observation: "The film industry positively affects the neighbourhood, it promotes the street, and people come and visit Cihangir". However, there are also

negative perceptions about the film industry. The same resident indicated that “Film shooting affects our lives here; they block the traffic. They need to get permission from us” (Int-B41).



Figure 6.33 Plato Film School and Renovation of the Old Timber Houses

The residential neighbourhood, Cihangir, catalysed the process as being a home to many film artists, actors, directors and screenwriters who take part in TV series and feature-film projects. They go to the surrounding cafe bars, meet with other film people, and talk about their projects. In addition to the benefit gained from being visible in these places, it increases their popularity and brings better job prospects. Film people started to move into the area after the 1990s²⁸ when the area became popular as an alternative place to live. The year 2000 was when many cafes opened in

²⁸ Popularity of new Turkish cinema, affordable rents, nostalgic ties with film industry, centrality and sea view

Cihangir (Cihangir Postasi, 2010; Int-B30). This was due to the increasing demand of the film people and other artists as they like going to the cafes instead of spending time at home. This is also related to the fact that these people are usually single, young professionals who do not have a family life. One could argue that the film industry and cafe culture play a major role in transforming a neighbourhood, particularly as seen in the case of Cihangir.

On the other hand the increasing number of cafes in Beyoglu has created congestion-related problems, especially the pavement cafes. As discussed in Section 6.5, most of the interviewees complained about the access problems to the offices because the tables and chairs have extended out onto the pavements and streets. In addition, residents also complained about the noise and alcohol-related problems. As there is not a street management plan the conflicts increased and the Beyoglu Municipality commenced a series of actions in July 2011, removing the table and chairs of these pavement cafes. These so-called *table operations* sparked protests and discussions about urban public space in Istanbul and its management (Figure 6.34).



Figure 6.34 Cafe Culture and its Management: Table Operations in Beyoglu (Tarlabasi Istanbul, 2011)

Community Involvement

There are several community associations²⁹ representing the different neighbourhoods in Beyoglu. As well as the factors discussed above, these neighbourhood associations play an important role in the physical and social transformation of the area. They act as a facilitator between the various interest groups trying to provide the spatial and social cohesion in the area. One of them, the Cihangir Neighbourhood Association, emerged based on the lack of green space in the area, as Cihangir's urban pattern is very dense. The initiative was launched in the 1990s by the members who are mostly architects, city planners, artists and the long-standing residents living and working in the area. They founded the Association to convince the Municipality to provide more green space. Officially founded in 1995, the Cihangir Neighbourhood Association developed many projects aiming to increase the physical quality of the neighbourhood as well as providing the social cohesion as a bridge between the different groups. They organise many activities for children and residents, and also many art-related festivals. They also conducted an international neighbourhood artist exchange programme with Berlin's cultural quarter, Mitte, in 2010³⁰. The Association is also responsible for the production and publication of a monthly bulletin containing local news items, and developments, activities and achievements relating to the neighbourhood. They opposed the current 1/1000 Development Plan of Beyoglu which negates the policies of the Conservation Plan. They organised public gatherings and a signature campaign. However the Municipality did not respond to this opposition, and instead launched the plan in February 2011 (Int-B30; B36).

There is a conflict between these associations and the Municipality. The plan-making process requires that the public's opinion is sought to identify any objections to the planning decisions, which are then highlighted in the planning reports. However the

29 Asmalimescit (founded in 2004); Ayaspaşa; Bedrettin; Cihangir (1995); Tarlabasi; Galata Association (1994); BEYDER; Beyoglu Platform (This is a platform linking all these associations)

³⁰ Among Neighbourhoods 1: Berlin Mitte and Istanbul Cihangir

interviewees expressed that the plans are prepared by the Municipality without reference to the residents of the area (Int-B30; B36):

“The Municipality is not working well with the associations; they just appear to be doing so, but in practice they are not. There is no real participation. If there is an opposition, they immediately create an alternative” (Int-B36).

The Cihangir Neighbourhood Association brings a lawsuit against every action that is seen as a potential threat to the quality of the physical and social environment. In cooperation with local government and the Municipality, the Association tries to provide a safer and cleaner social and physical environment. One of the Association’s recent achievements was to order all the buildings in the district to be renovated or at least painted (Ilkucan 2004; Int-B30).

The community associations in Beyoglu took direct action with the problems encountered in Cihangir regarding the so-called *table operations*. The community associations protested the projects of the Municipality and criticised the lack of street management plans. They argued that if pavements are legalised for extensions of cafes onto the pavements by putting out tables and chairs, the number of the cafes and bars will increase, and local, small businesses will disappear. On the other hand they also advised that if the various uses of pavements are completely banned, then the vibrant urban life of Beyoglu will disappear. However the initiatives of the associations were not overly affected and the Municipality cancelled the licences of the many cafes. Nonetheless, these community associations are still fighting for a better solution for a well managed cafe culture in Istanbul (News; Int-B30; B36). One of the facilitators of these community associations stated:

“These cafes hindered the pedestrian rights. On the other hand the Municipality is not doing right by confiscating the tables and chairs illegally...They do not care, these associations. They used strong power and forced cafe/bar owners to remove their tables, chairs etc. But they do not deal with everybody equally” (Int-B30)

Large-scale Companies

Large-scale companies are said to be having a role in the development of the area, especially on the Tarlabasi Renewal Project and also on other new developments in Beyoglu such as the Demiroren Istiklal Shopping Centre (Int-B10; B11; B27; B30; B36). The chair of one of the associations claimed that these large-scale holdings manipulate the urban transformation as they have good relations with politicians:

“The Tarlabasi urban transformation project is managed by Calik Holding...Local residents have started to move already. The buildings are being expropriated...The new AVM is owned by a private company which has a good relationship with the current government” (Int-B36).

To conclude, it is possible to argue that both governmental and non-governmental initiatives have affected the clustering, discussed within Sections 6.4 and 6.5. This section has revealed that pedestrianisation and consumption-related projects in particular played a negative role in the clustering of the companies in Beyoglu.

6.8 CONCLUSIONS: QUALITY OF PLACE IN BEYOGLU

Chapter 6 focused on a case study research in Beyoglu and presented the findings relating to the factors on clustering with the aim of understanding the impact of quality of place. The evolution of the urban area, the location patterns of the film industry and the clustering process are explored.

In the first section, the historical development process of Beyoglu and the location patterns of the film industry in Beyoglu are discussed. Beyoglu clusters are analysed based on mapping and the email survey undertaken with the film companies. The other film industry clusters in Istanbul which have emerged around the new roads in the new business districts are briefly introduced. It is found that the different decline and growth processes of the film industry in relation to socio-cultural and economic circumstances of Turkey affected the spatial clustering. Although the film companies moved from Beyoglu in the past, research findings indicate that it is still one of the centres of the film industry in Istanbul and there are potential areas, where clusters are emerging (especially Area-2), where this research suggests that the clustering should be encouraged and supported.

The sections that followed focused on the factors relating to clustering and de-clustering based on the findings of the interviews, questionnaires and observations. The socio-spatial diversity in Beyoglu and the fact that the residential neighbourhoods have different spatial characteristics are highlighted as an important source for creative ideas. People who are more bohemian and artistic tend to stay in Beyoglu and they state that they are inspired through the urban place more than the others whose

approach is more business-based. People do find urban place stimulating and they are inspired by many different aspects.

It is emphasised that being in the city centre and having an office space is necessary for filmmaking companies. The findings indicate that cafe culture facilitating the informal gatherings/activities, community life, the main street, walkability, built heritage and the traditions associated with place are the essential assets of Beyoglu which have contributed to clustering.

Furthermore, the place-making process of Beyoglu in relation to governmental and non-governmental initiatives is also discussed. The transformation of Beyoglu and the factors affecting this change are discussed based on the interviews and questionnaire findings. There is a conflict between the neighbourhood associations and the local authority. There is no meaningful public participation in the planning process. This part of the discussion highlighted the top-down planning approaches applied in Beyoglu which this research argues may have contributed to de-clustering. Pedestrianisation and the management of pavement cafes and consumption-based projects strongly accelerated de-clustering. As part of the organic developments, creative individuals' initiatives contributed to clustering in Beyoglu particularly in Cihangir.

Next Chapter 7, evaluates the findings from both Soho and Beyoglu.

CHAPTER 7 CREATIVE CLUSTERS, QUALITY OF PLACE AND PLACE-MAKING

Chapters 5 and 6 reported the findings from the Soho and Beyoglu case studies. Chapter 7 evaluates and compares the findings of these case studies. It is structured in three parts in relation to the research questions and aims introduced in Chapter 1; clustering and location; clustering, quality of place and creativity, and clustering and the role of urban design and planning. The argument within this chapter is structured as shown in Figure 7.1.

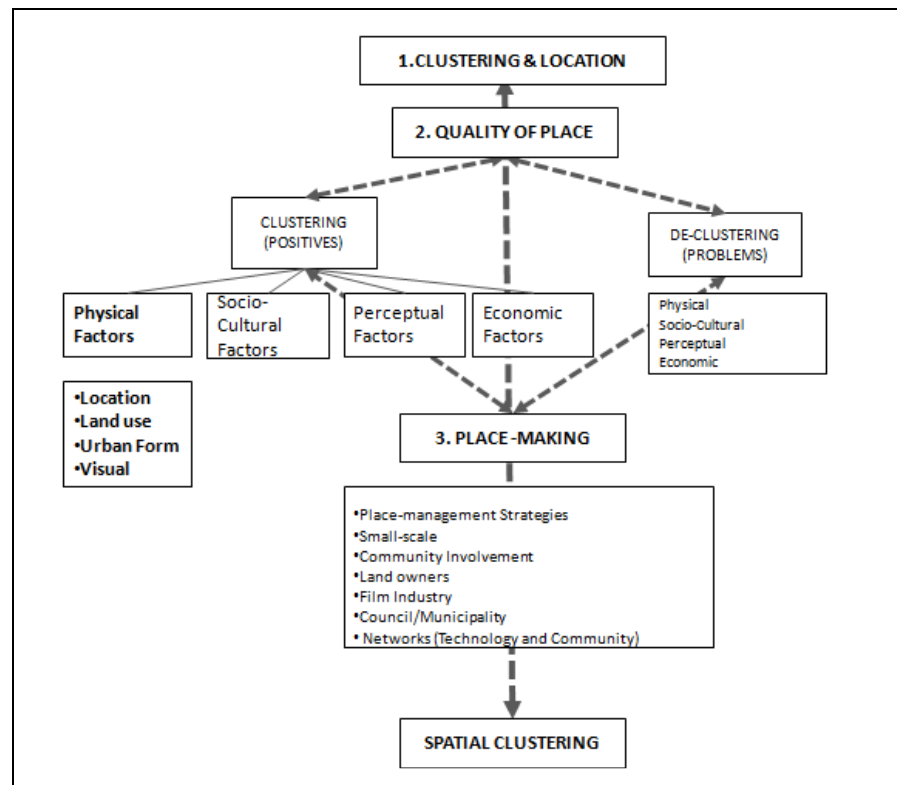


Figure 7.1 Discussion Flow

7.1 CLUSTERING AND LOCATION

As discussed previously in Chapter 2, there are several typologies and models which can be applied to an analysis of the clusters. Based on the findings gathered from the cases, an attempt is made to compare the Soho and Beyoglu clusters based on these theoretical models. As demonstrated in Table 7.1 on the next page, it is not

straightforward to group Soho and Beyoglu into a single category as they overlap with several of the models. The discussion below is based on these models, and aims to theorise the clustering and its spatial, industrial and socio-cultural expressions.

Table 7.1 Clustering Typologies of Soho and Beyoglu

Theories/Typologies	Characteristics	Soho	Beyoglu
Gordon and MaCCann (2000); Bilien and Maier(2008) Pure Agglomeration Model (PM) Industrial Complex Model (IC) Social Network Model (SN)	Firm Size	Some large scale firms(IC) A mixture of small-medium-large scale companies (SN)	Atomistic/Small-scale companies (PM)
	Characteristics of Inter-company relations	Long-term/Stable (IC) Co-operation between the companies (IC) Joint ventures (SN)	Intense local competition between the companies (PM) Joint lobbying (SN)
	Membership/Access to Cluster	Access to cluster is free (PM) History/Experience/Tradition (SN)	Access to cluster is free (PM) History/Experience/Tradition (SN)
	Location	Urban/Inner-city (PM)	Urban/Inner-city (PM)
	Rational of spatial clustering	Cluster Theory: Economic advantages (IC) Proximity minimises the transaction-costs (IC)	Not driven by economics of clustering (PM)
	Analytical Approach	Industrial Complex Model (IC)	Pure Agglomeration Model (PM)
Martin and Sunley (2003)	Form	Compact	Dispersed
	Size/Scale	1sq mile/Neighbourhood	9km ² /District
	Depth of Agglomeration	Densely clustered	Creative hotspots
	Max Distance between the firms	0,7 km	3 km
Evans (2009)	Emergence/Public Policy	Mature/Organic: No policy intervention	Emergent/Organic: No policy Intervention
Rosenfeld (1997)	Stage of Development	Working-overachieving	Latent-underachieving /Potential
Scott (2002)	Organisation/Industrial Structure of the companies	Horizontally integrated post-production companies	Vertically integrated Post production companies
Leo Van Den Berg et al., (2001) Cluster-specific Conditions General-Spatial/Economic Conditions Quality of Urban Management	Factors on Clustering	Cluster-Specific: Positive Effect General Conditions: Neutral Quality of Management: Positive	Cluster-Specific: Neutral General Conditions: Negative Quality of Management: Negative

The research findings suggest that there are 280 film companies located in Soho, 6.5% of the film companies located in London and there are 138 film companies located in Beyoglu, 46% of the film companies located in Istanbul (Core sector production, post production, distribution and exhibition). Although Soho has just 6.5% of the film companies located in London, it is recognised as the main core of the film industry in London, whereas although 46% of the core sector film companies are located in Beyoglu, its image is not as strong as Soho's image. This might be related to *the depth*

of agglomeration (Martin and Sunley, 2003), critical mass, and also the size and scale of the places. In Soho, clusters are densely located in a one-square-mile area whereas in Beyoglu they are dispersed across a nine-square-kilometre area. They are closely congregated around the mews and lanes in the inner parts of Soho rather than at the edges and also are particularly concentrated along some main streets and around the squares such as Wardour Street, Dean Street, Soho Square and Golden Square. Whereas the clusters in Beyoglu are dispersed along Istiklal Caddesi and in different sub-neighbourhoods without a specific location pattern. They can be termed creative hotspots, which have potential for cluster growth.

Production companies constitute the majority in Beyoglu with 78% of the companies, and only 3% of the film companies located in Beyoglu operate in post production whereas production companies in Soho equals to 50% of the total and post-production companies 35%. This difference in the types of the companies in the cluster is related to the differences in the industrial and economic structure of the post-production companies in both cities. Post-production facilities in the Turkish film industry consist of several big 'in-house companies' located especially in Levent, Maslak and some other places, whereas post-production facilities in the UK film industry are mainly clustered in Soho, consisting of many small-scale companies specialising in different processes of post production such as sound, editing, visual effects, studios and laboratories. Hence *horizontally integrated* post-production companies (Scott, 2002) appreciate being closely located as they share their facilities, resources and even offices. This agglomeration also attracts others to the cluster and contributes to perpetuating the existing clusters.

As Porter (1998) suggested, clustering provides economic advantages. The findings from the Soho study support this argument as the film companies have been clustering in Soho. The interviewees and the questionnaire results confirmed that being in Soho contributes to job growth and employment, and that the efficiency of working in Soho saves money and time due to the benefits of being networked and clustered. The findings for Beyoglu, however, are not as strong as those from the Soho case study. Although companies once clustered in Beyoglu in the 1960s, they de-clustered and decentralised towards peripheries as a result of the prevailing socio-cultural and

economic factors especially after 1980s. Companies interviewed have conflicting views about the benefits of clustering. These differences could be explained by Gordon and McCann's (2000) cluster models. The Soho cluster has the characteristics of the *Industrial Complex Model* as it has the economic bases whereas Beyoglu clusters can be named as the *Pure Agglomeration Model* as the clustering is not driven by economics of clustering.

De-Clustering and the Re-location Patterns

There are other sub-centres where some other film companies are re-located. In both locations some of the companies moved out and relocated in different parts of London or Istanbul; some in central locations, some in peripheral locations. The characteristics of these new locations, however, are quite different. In London, the new locations have similar urban and architectural characteristics with Soho and although the companies tend to move from Soho they are inclined to stay in central locations. For example they have clustered in Noho, very close to Soho and having similar village-like characteristics; or they have moved to Camden or East London towards Shoreditch or Hoxton which have similar urban characteristics to Soho. In contrast, Beyoglu companies relocated to places which have quite different characteristics to Beyoglu. Rather than being located in central historic districts many companies have moved out to the peripheries into new business districts with prestigious high-rise office blocks referred to as the modern city centre. At the metropolitan scale, the companies are dispersed around different places including Levent and Maslak- and are located in different parts of these districts without any specific location pattern.

Perhaps what is similar in both cases is that the film industry is inclined to cluster especially in inner-city locations. In this context they could be categorised as urban/inner-city (Gordon and McCann, 2000). However, due to the problems mentioned, the de-clustering dynamics and factors behind them are quite different. As for Beyoglu, being in the inner-city is appreciated but the problems of Beyoglu have been a push factor; whereas in Soho, just being in Soho is crucial for the success of the company, and despite reported problems, they are willing to tolerate them and stay in and around Soho.

Van Den Berg et al.'s (2001) analysis of clusters suggested that generally the development and growth of clusters are driven by three main factors; cluster-specific conditions, general-spatial and economic conditions and the quality of urban management. The findings of this research indicated that in all cases, quality of urban management affected clustering process but in a different way; in Soho they were supportive whereas in Beyoglu quality of urban management appeared to be a negative factor.

The development of Beyoglu clusters was hugely affected by the general-spatial economic conditions as well as the socio-cultural factors, whereas the Soho clusters were not affected that much by the external factors. This may well indicate the established structure of the Soho clusters. Besides, the cluster-specific conditions were more influential on the development of the clusters as the existing clusters contributed to attracting the others. In Soho the existing clusters are not affected much by socio-cultural changes; whereas in Beyoglu these socio-cultural changes together with the spatial policies have directly affected the clusters.

In terms of public intervention, as Evans (2009a) conceptualised, the Soho cluster is *organic/mature cluster* whereas Beyoglu clusters are *organic/emergent* clusters. Applying the typology suggested by Rosenfeld (1997), Soho could be named as a *working/overachieving cluster* whereas Beyoglu clusters could be defined as *latent/potential/underachieving clusters*.

These factors affected the location of the clusters. In addition, as explored within Chapters 5 and 6, several physical, socio-cultural, perceptual and economic factors play roles in clustering. These are evaluated below.

7.2 CLUSTERING, QUALITY OF PLACE AND CREATIVITY

The questionnaire results demonstrate that film people in Soho and Beyoglu have different motivations for taking location decisions. In summary, the economic benefits of Soho are seen as the most important factor, followed by physical and perceptual characteristics such as image and the efficiency of working in Soho. As for Beyoglu, cultural factors such as events, festivals, leisure and entertainment are seen as more

important than economic benefits, followed by social characteristics and personal issues. This suggests that people base their decisions on personal issues while career or company vision plays a less important role. In Soho personal issues are not selected much by film people, and this was only ranked fifth. Finally, it is important to highlight that environmental issues are selected as the least important both in Soho and Beyoglu. However the interviewees complained about the congestion and also lack of enough heating/cooling and air conditioning in these old buildings. The findings on the congestion factor are contradictory, as many stressed congestion as a reason for de-clustering. These findings are compared in Figure 7.2. In addition, it is also important to highlight that there are not much differences between each factor in each case as Figure 7.2 demonstrates.

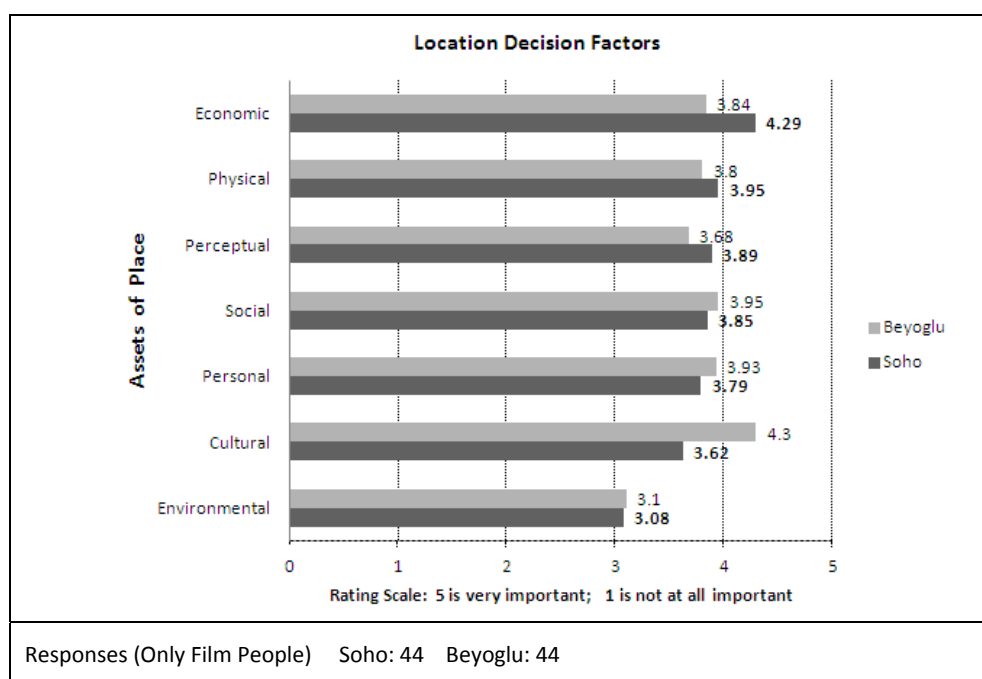


Figure 7.2 Clustering: Location Decision Factors (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

Physical Assets

Physical assets are grouped as location, land use, urban form and visual characteristics. Location and land use are the primary factors driving location decisions, whereas urban form and visual characteristics are the secondary factors. These secondary factors do not directly affect the location decisions; rather they are important in retaining the creative workforce. In addition, building and office space qualities in particular are the most stated factors for relocation decisions. The physical parameters

mentioned in the interviews are summarised in Table 7.2 and explained in detail below.

Table 7.2 Clustering: Comparison of Physical Factors (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

PHYSICAL FACTORS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Location	Centrality	Accessability (Metropolitan + Neighbourhood)	Accessability (Metropolitan scale)
	Proximity	Re-location: Inner city	Re-location: Periphery
Land Use	Need for office space	Based on face to face interactions	
	Diversity	Main centre of the film industry	
	Residential	Densely clustered	Creative hotspots
	Mixed Use	Cafe culture	Cafe culture (Different than Soho)
	Cultural venues/buildings	Sex establishments	Sex establishments (Different than Soho)
	Cafes/bars/restaurants		Local cinemas
	Local/street shops		Cinema unions
	Night Life		
Urban Form/Street Pattern	Permeability-Porosity	Boundaries: Physical and Perceptual Limits	Topography/Sea view
	Easy to give direction	Grid Urban pattern	Organic
	Connectivity	Compact form	Main street
	Walkability	Fine grain	Fine grain (Different)
		Green squares	Squares: meeting gathering point
		Interactive micro urban public spaces	Historic passages
Visual Characteristics		Co-existence of pedestrians and traffic	Pedestrianisation
	Built Heritage	Convergence of old and new	Spatial diversity for film shooting
	Architectural Diversity	Small-scale buildings	
	Landmarks	Continuity	

Proximity and Centrality

One of the most important physical parameters is location, and this includes proximity, centrality and accessibility. Both Soho and Beyoglu are in central locations that have good public transportation links. Both are surrounded by major roads and tube stations. This makes it easy to access (to and from) any part of London or Istanbul. They are both in close proximity to many urban facilities. Being in an inner-city is highlighted as the primary advantage for the location decision of the film companies.

Accessibility

Another issue which is related to location is accessibility. There are three different aspects of accessibility combining the physical and social aspects of it: accessibility at a metropolitan scale, accessibility at a neighbourhood scale and social accessibility to film people. Soho works well in meeting the needs of the first two aspects; it has city-wide transportation networks which make it easy to commute from different parts of London and it also has good accessibility at a neighbourhood scale with its porous street network and compact and fine grain architecture. It allows both pedestrian movement and car access with a shared surface strategy and street management

plans. As for the social accessibility, most of the offices have their reception and security on the ground floors. Beyoglu also works well in terms of accessibility at the metropolitan scale but not at a neighbourhood scale in terms of the car access and also pedestrian movement in terms of the congestion-related problems. Pedestrianisation created problems in access to the offices, whether by car or on foot, due to the congestion created by the problematic management of the cafes and shopping flows. In terms of the social accessibility that promotes informal contact and helps to build personal relations, Beyoglu has more potential than Soho. As discussed before, the pop-in/drop-by culture in Beyoglu, that encourages chance encounter and informal meetings, is a product of the Turkish culture. Hence this is not a Beyoglu factor rather it is a socio-cultural characteristics of Turkey.

Walking distance to home

Beyoglu has an advantage in terms of having many different residential neighbourhoods. People working in film companies also prefer to live in these places. Beyoglu is their habitat and living in Beyoglu is a lifestyle choice for them. This proximity of home and workplace provides an opportunity for observing daily life in the neighbourhood. Engaging in the place they live in increases familiarity with the local environment that can be a source of inspiration in film-making. In Soho none of the interviewed film people said that they lived in Soho or had colleagues living in Soho. People generally live in the suburbs or in other locations from where they need to commute by public or private transportation rather than walking. This is highlighted as one of the problems of working in Soho.

Land Use

Both Soho and Beyoglu have a mixed-use land use pattern, and also have particular residential characteristics. This contributes to visual diversity, activity diversity and also to the variety of social mix. Both cases have street level shopping on the ground floors of the buildings. This increases activity on the streets, provides safety and fosters chance encounters. In addition, the existence of cultural venues also contributes to diversity and contact among people. There are more venues in Beyoglu than in Soho, a point that was highlighted by interviewees and supported by the questionnaires. As for

the film industry-related land uses this is quite different in both cases; the dynamics and affects of this were discussed above in the clustering section.

Cafe Culture

Both Soho and Beyoglu have a rich *cafe culture* (Montgomery, 1997) and this contributes to creativity by providing chance encounters, interaction and also people-watching opportunities. However, there are differences in the two cases in terms of the style, land uses, types of cafes and also management of them which played an important role on the clustering and de-clustering. In Soho the effective management of the pavement cafes contributes to clustering, whereas in Beyoglu the lack of management plans has created conflicts between the cafe owners, businesses in the area, offices, residents, community associations and also visitors. Further, in Soho, there is a management plan for the use of pavements by cafes which gives licences, controlling the extensions on pavements and limiting the number and size of chairs and tables, as well as the selection and type of the materials used for these and opening hours of the cafes.

Cafe and pub culture in Soho offers perceptual assets such as a sense of belonging, place attachment and sense of community. In Beyoglu, however, cafes are just used for meetings or job hunting, rather than being associated as contributing to a sense of community. In Soho, there are some cafes and pubs such as the Star Cafe, the Endurance and the Ship Pub which are known as places where 'film people go'. In the case of Beyoglu, there are also many new cafes especially in Cihangir where the artists, actors and directors meet, particularly for job hunting, networking and so on, although there are not many places where they usually gather which they associate with 'everybody goes there'. This is significant for a creative industry like the film industry. It is important to be a 'frequent goer' or 'a denizen' of a place which in turn creates a sense of attachment and belonging. This familiarity with place is important for communication and creativity. This difference might be related to the existence of a film community in Soho.

Local Cinemas and Cinema Unions

Some of the advantages that Beyoglu has over Soho are the historical local cinemas and cinema unions which are located mainly in historical passages along Istiklal Caddesi, and having direct relations with the street. There used to be many more of these art house cinemas in the past; however, due to place management strategies most of them have closed down and there have been threats to the sustainability of these cinemas. In addition, the cinema-related unions in Beyoglu provide a meeting place for the film community. Although companies may have relocated to different places of Istanbul, most of the film unions and associations are still located in Beyoglu and they are the places where the interviewees stated they were likely to bump into each other at the monthly union meetings. As the labour laws are quite different in both countries, Soho companies are not unionised.

Sex trade-related Business

Both cases accommodate sex trade-related establishments. Especially in the 1960s when both locations experienced a period of decline, many sex-related businesses emerged. The relationship with the existence of sex premises relates to creativity and the process of urban decline and growth. As well as functional diversity in residential and business uses, the conflicting/marginal uses created another opportunity for creative production in terms of striking a balance between risk and safety.

The evidence gathered in the content of this research is not enough to discuss the dynamics between the sex industry, urban space and creative clusters. However it is worth mentioning the link between these, which merits further investigation. There are also studies in the urban studies about the relationship between sex & urban socialscape (Collins, 2004 and 2006), sex premises & property (Prior et al., 2011), street prostitution, red light districts and urban landscape (Ashworth et al., 1988), adult entertainment districts, urban policy and urban change (Ryder, 2004). In addition to these, it can be argued that there is also a relationship between “creativity and sex”.

It is well known in the literature that artists like Picasso, Van Gogh, and Manet¹ had some kind of marginal relations with female sex workers, as they depict them in their paintings as shown in Figure 7.3.

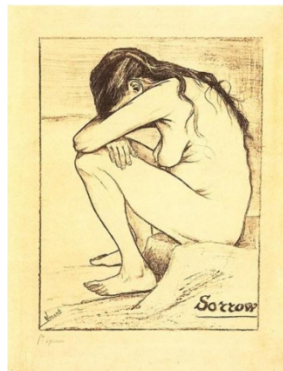

		
<p>Olympia, Manet, 1863 (An upper class prostitute taking flowers from her client through the servant) (Musee d'Orsay, 2006)</p>	<p>Sorrow, Van Gogh, 1882, (A pregnant prostitute, Van Gogh's girlfriend Sien. They lived in the same house after she gave birth) (Van Gogh Gallery, 2012).</p>	<p>Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, Picasso, 1907 (Picasso worked on this painting for 9 months) (Green, 2001).</p>

Figure 7.3 Prostitutes as Depicted by Van Gogh, Picasso and Manet

Currently there are still many sex shops, striptease clubs, adult cinemas, pole dancing and lap-dancing clubs, nude-peep shows, revue bars, and massage parlours in Soho. There are also many brothels/walk-ups where Soho girls who are sometimes referred to as 'models' work. These flats are privately owned or rented and shared by mainly female sex workers. They share the walk-ups on a daily basis². The Council polices these establishments and aims to limit the number of the licenced premises and close down the unlicenced ones. The local community organisations and business-led projects also aim to cut down the prostitution in the area. On the other hand, these sex establishments are said to be giving the area a seedy look as it contributes to its charm, which is favoured by some of the people interviewed. Some of the people also mention visiting these walk-ups. A well-known artist and a passionate resident of Soho life (Sebastian Horsley who passed away in 2010) also is known for his

¹ Venus of Urbino by Titian in 1538, Olympia by Manet in 1863, Sorrow by Van Gogh in 1882, Les Femmes d'Alger by Picasso in 1907.

² Daily rent of a walk-up flat costs nearly 400 GBP; hourly service of a sex worker is nearly 100-150 GBP and they say that sometimes they meet with 50 men in a day.

passion/fondness for the prostitutes (Horsley, 2004). In addition, these places are also visited by the international tourists and Soho is regarded as the main tourist attraction and 'red light district' of London. Beyoglu is also known to be accommodating sex establishments. However, they are not as visible as in Soho. Brothels are clustered along just one street close to the port in Galata District. This is also related to socio-cultural and religious differences in the two countries, which is why the sex establishments are not as visible as they are in Soho. In Soho they are located within the urban buzz next to a school, a grocery, a bookshop or a street market. These sex-trade establishments in Soho are just a step along the street, welcoming with models' calling cards, and easily accessible to all. This increases the charm of the area according to the some of the people interviewed. The area's reputation with sex industry deserves further investigation to explore its relationship with creative clustering. The images shown in Figure 7.4 present some of the sex establishments in Soho and their relationship with the streets.



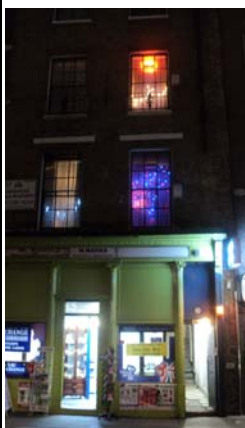

 <p>Berwick Street, Peter Street and Walkers Court Junction</p> <p>On the left, book shop; on the right a market and opposite are the model houses on Peter Street</p>	 <p>Sex shops and adult cinemas in Walker's Court (Sin Alley)</p>	 <p>A flat above a newsagent which 'models' share on Greek Street</p>
 <p>Models' calling cards</p>	<p>'Sin Alley' where the sex shops are clustered along Walkers Court</p>	<p>A small market on the ground floor and a walk-up on the upper floors</p>

Figure 7.4 Sex-trade Related Establishments in Soho

Urban Form

As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, location and land use-related parameters are stated as important more than the urban form related parameters according to the interview and survey results. Although it is not stated as an initial factor, street pattern is also described as stimulating positive inter-company relations and affecting their daily working process. There are some certain characteristics of urban form that contribute to clustering both in terms of companies' location decisions and individuals' creativity processes. These factors mainly contribute to walkability which is very important for chance encounters, informal contacts, efficiency and productivity. Urban form characteristics are also related to land use activities and encourage/discourage their efficiency. In Soho the permeable urban form works well with the land use activities as there is a management plan run by the Council. However, the permeable form in Beyoglu does not contribute to the efficiency of land use activities as there are problems and conflicts in terms of managing the streets.

Although the urban elements are different, both Soho's and Beyoglu's urban patterns are permeable and have some urban elements which make them legible and easy to walk through, with many alternative routes, short cuts and various street types. In both cases people find it easy to find their way and give direction as both have easily recognisable landmarks, nodes and paths (Lynch, 1960). Permeability of urban form increases the interaction and promotes chance encounters. In Soho, interactive micro urban public places such as urban alcoves, niches, the mews, lanes and courts provide this permeability; whereas in Beyoglu the passages, short cuts and many alternative routes and arcades provide porosity and permeability (see Section 7.2). In parallel to Jacob's (1961) and Bentley's (1985) ideas about the importance of short building plots, the findings confirm that as well as the right environment, permeability is also important for creativity.

Boundaries help to form mental images. As Tiesdell (1996) suggested, boundaries designate a cultural quarter. In Soho boundaries are well defined and people know that they are in Soho; as well as physical limits they set the perceptual limits. Beyoglu lacks this defined shape. This, along with place attachment, enhances sense of 'being'

in Soho. That is why the image of being in Beyoglu is not as strong as in Soho. On the other hand the size of Beyoglu might be an important factor in this case as it is bigger than Soho.

Architectural and Visual Qualities

In both case studies people appreciate the built heritage, the history, and the architectural diversity and embrace them as a source of new ideas and creativity. Historical buildings and the environment that have evolved through the centuries inspire them. Interviewees also express positive views about the new buildings in Soho which they believe complement the historical pattern and provide both visual continuity and a balance in the area. However, contemporary architecture is not valued as much as the built heritage in Beyoglu.

Landmarks are important both in Soho and Beyoglu in terms of giving direction and offering help in way-finding especially for the film companies that have international relations, foreign co-producers and clients. To be easily found by being close to architectural and urban landmarks is an important factor in terms of location decision, as image is important for the film companies.

Spatial diversity is stated as one of the assets of Beyoglu for film making but not in Soho. Beyoglu has many different styles of urban places such as edgy urban areas, and busy crowded shopping streets, bohemian streets, edgy/shabby areas, and many different styles of historical buildings from different eras, residential neighbourhoods and a wide variety of non-residential uses. This spatial diversity is perceived as an important asset for film shooting. Even though streets have problems in terms of access and congestion due to cafes and the shopping activity, Beyoglu streets and the sub-neighbourhoods are used for film shooting such as new commercials, TV series, documentaries and feature films. Soho streets are also used for film shooting, but rather for news, documentaries and commercials.

These issues discussed up to now emerged from the interviews. The following discussion represents the value given to these issues according to the questionnaire results. Film companies both in Soho and Beyoglu primarily appreciate proximity (Soho 64% and Beyoglu 69%). Following proximity, porosity and accessibility are selected as

the second most important criteria (Soho with 39% first ranking and Beyoglu with 21% with second ranking). People in both places also think diversity is important (21%, with second ranking in both cases). However, public places and landscape greenery are selected as the least important (fifth and sixth ranking) in both cases as shown in (Figure 7.5). Accessibility is rated as the most important issue in Beyoglu. However, as discussed above, accessibility is also seen as a problem in Beyoglu. In this sense, the interviews helped to explain this contradiction. Beyoglu is accessible at the metropolitan scale but not at the neighbourhood scale. The results of the survey can be interpreted that people experience problems in terms of the access to the buildings and express this as their concern when making a location decision. Therefore, as well as the positive factors attracting them to Beyoglu, the overriding negative factors relate to location issues. However, in Soho people are willing to tolerate the negative factors. In terms of visual characteristics the results are slightly different for Soho and Beyoglu. In Soho, people appreciate the streetscape quality (25% with first ranking) whereas streetscape is selected by only 7% with fourth ranking in Beyoglu. Instead, built heritage is selected as the most important issue in Beyoglu (49% with first ranking). The questionnaires suggest that innovative architecture is not an important issue in the location decision in either Soho or Beyoglu (Figure 7.5)

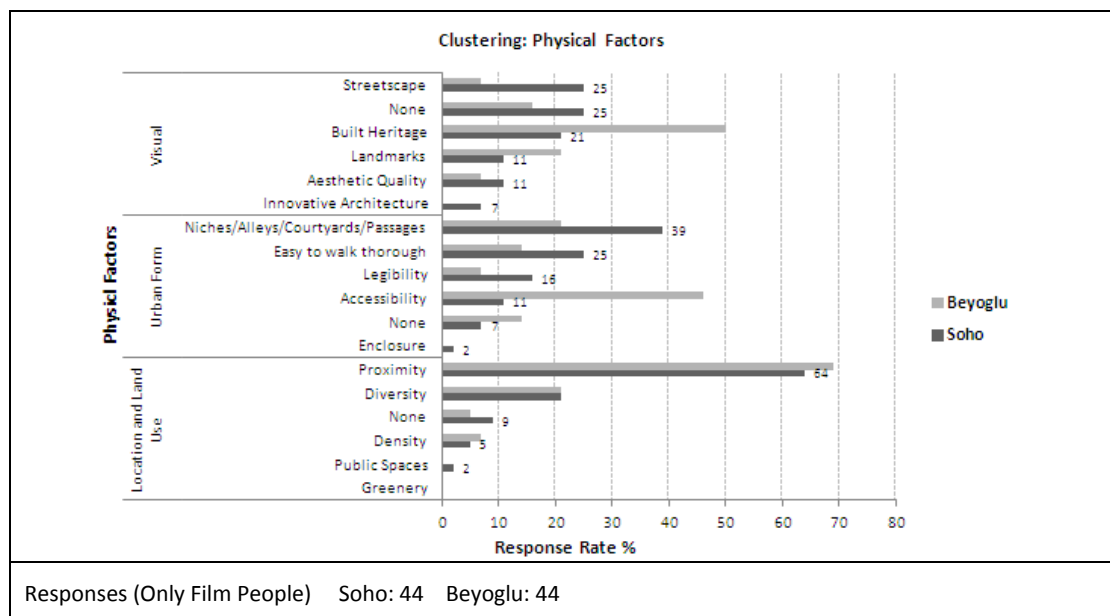


Figure 7.5 Clustering: Physical Factors (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

Socio-Cultural Factors

The socio-cultural factors summarised in Table 7.3 below have a direct and indirect effect on clustering, whether as a primary factor in location decision, or as secondary factors in retaining these people. These socio-cultural assets are important in terms of sustaining the clusters and fostering the emotional needs of creative types. One of the most important factors affecting clustering is people - and companies are willing to cluster in Soho. However, in Beyoglu, people do not appreciate working together and sharing resources and jobs as much as people do in Soho. This has had a marked affect on the clustering process. Another important factor is cited as the lack of the communication between the new generation and the old generation, whereas in Soho it is all about being in Soho and being part of this film-related culture.

Table 7.3 Clustering: Socio-Cultural Factors (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Community	Residential community	Film community	Informal contacts/informal personal
	Village-like life	Communication/interaction	People watching/passive interaction
	Cosmopolitan lifestyle	Collaboration-job sharing	Tv-Series
		Bumping into people	Drop/by culture
		Chance encounters	
		Willingness to cluster	Not willing to cluster
Talent	Young people		Famous People
	Foreign people		Artists/Actors are living
	Open minded people		
	Diversity of population		
Tolerance	Anything can happen	Gay village	Conflicts/contradictions
	Freedom/Feeling Free	Tolerant environments	

The talent pool of creative people is much more important for Soho-based companies (64%) than in Istanbul (16%). For film companies in Beyoglu, events and festivals (55%) are most selected, followed by cosmopolitan structure (25%) and social interaction (25%) (Figure 7.6 on the next page).

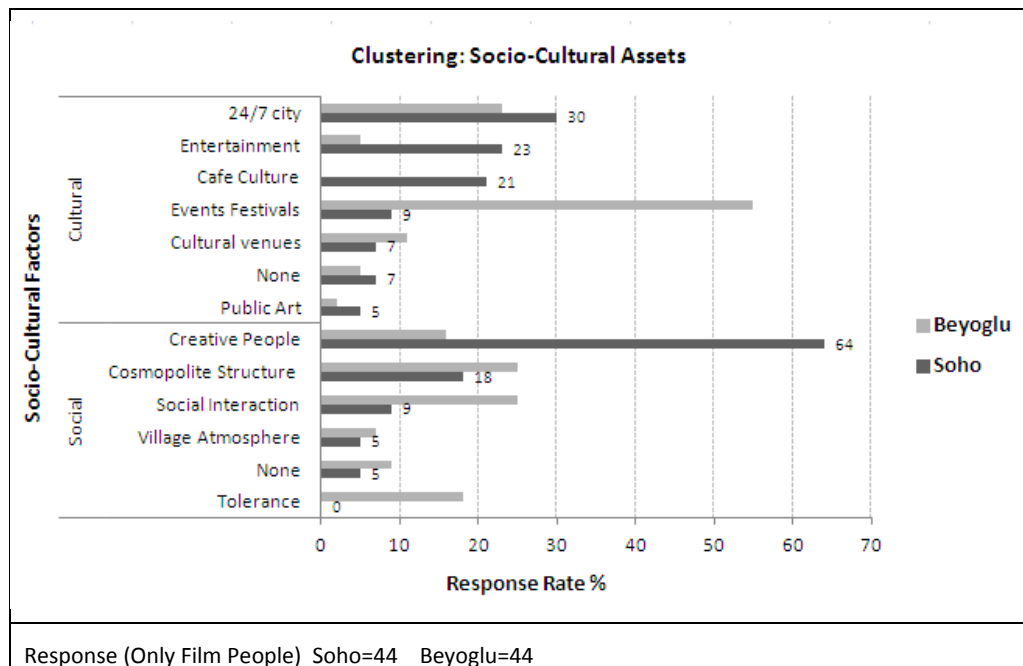


Figure 7.6 Clustering: Socio-Cultural Factors (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

Perceptual Factors

Both Soho and Beyoglu have a bohemian atmosphere with a seedy, old and quirky look and both have strong connections with art and cinema. The findings indicate that it is the overall context and the atmosphere that makes these spaces 'feel and look creative'. Hence feelings associated with the place are very important; these drive location decision and influence daily working processes. These perceptual factors are summarised in Table 7.4 and discussed below.

Table 7.4 Clustering: Perceptual Factors (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

PERCEPTUAL FACTORS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Image	Connection with cinema and art	Media village	Different perceptions about "Prestige"
	Seedy/Edgy/Shabby	Credibility	
	Bohemian atmosphere		
	Beyoglu is known as the		
Civic Pride		To live and to be part of Soho	
Place Attachment	Tradition of place	Film community	Nostalgic ties
		Sense of community	Rendezvous/meeting place
Context	Overall atmosphere	Positive/similar feelings	Conflicting views
	Feels creative		

The image is much more important in Soho and contributes to forming and sustaining the clusters. Most companies want to be in Soho because they enjoy the economic benefits of having a Soho address. Being in Soho wins the business, helps in getting jobs and attracts talented people. Furthermore, Soho, as a location delivers an invisible profit that some interviewees noted that it is not possible to quantify this benefit and added that not being in Soho is expensive. In contrast, Beyoglu's strong connection with the film industry has been declining, especially since the 1980s. The image of being a film centre is not as strong as before due to the socio-cultural changes which have also changed the spatial patterns.

There are different views about the 'prestigious place' concept for the companies interviewed for the Beyoglu case. Being in these new business districts is prestigious for some (especially for the companies making TV-series, programmes and commercials) whereas being in a historical neighbourhood is prestigious for the others especially for those that have international clients and foreign co-productions. As for the Soho case, there is not enough evidence to discuss the differences concerning the 'prestigious place' concept. In addition, neither in Soho nor in Beyoglu, it is not possible to quantify these perceptual differences.

Economic Factors

Being in Soho has economic benefits. As summarised in Table 7.5, the advantages of co-location with many other film-related activities and facilities, convenience for start-ups and the well-known image of Soho makes it a desirable place to be. Office sharing is also common in Soho, where companies share the same office addresses.

There are also economic benefits of being in Beyoglu as suggested by the interviewees. However rather than the advantages of film clusters it is stated that other art-related institutions, venues, and cinemas contribute to job hunting, new jobs and collaboration. As there are many cultural venues people working in the film industry can collaborate with other art-related activities and can secure work by giving short courses about short-filming, or promoting their new movies in these venues; or they can get new jobs by meeting new people in these galleries, biennales and film screenings. In addition, they can invest in new business, whether art-related, or in

other services, entertainment and leisure-related sectors. Beyoglu is also a good place for actors to job hunt. They go to the cafes, especially to those in Cihangir, to be seen in public. The more they are seen in public the more they enhance their popularity and the more they secure roles in TV series or feature films. This is one of the reasons why they prefer to live in, or to visit, Cihangir.

Table 7.5 Clustering: Economic Factors (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

ECONOMIC FACTORS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Co-location/Clusters	Production companies	Post production companies (Studios, editing, sound, VFX, laboratories, suppliers)	Other art-related clusters (Galleries, museums, cultural institutions)
	Distribution companies	Sharing resources-jobs-offices	
	Long-standing companies	Soho-based clients	
	Foreign Clients	Large-scale companies	
Technology		Hard Infrastructure: Sohonet	
Job Growth		Wins the jobs-increase in the number of productions Employment Opportunities (Talent pool)	Cafe Culture-public visibility
Investment Opportunity	Advantage-good property value		Having other business in the area
Film-making		London is convenient, well developed legislative framework for filming on location	Insufficient legislative framework for on location film-making

The questionnaires offered a quantitative comparison between these factors mentioned above. As discussed above (see Figure 7.2 on page 285) economic assets are the most important factor on location decision for Soho-based companies. In contrast, in Beyoglu, 30% of the respondents selected 'none' in terms of economic benefits (Figure 7.7 on the next page). Clusters of creative industries is selected the most important factor in both cases.

In summary, this research has shown that there are clear differences between the two case studies in terms of the factors affecting clustering. In contrast, the characteristics of these places that play roles in de-clustering are similar in both Soho and Beyoglu as discussed below.

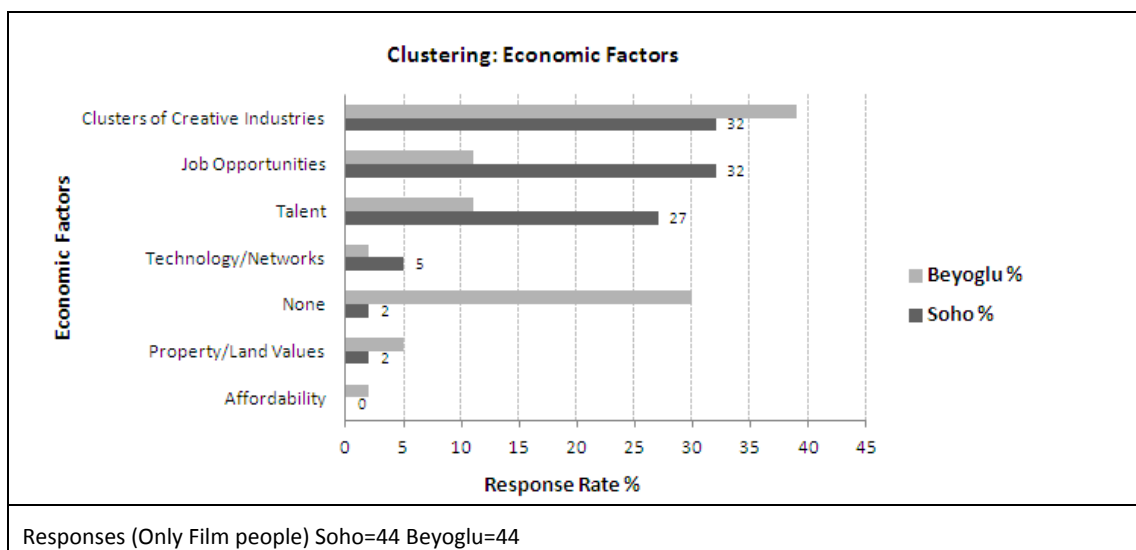


Figure 7.7 Clustering: Economic Factors (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

De-Clustering: Problems/Obsolescence

The problems highlighted in both case studies are common to most centres in big cities, such as congestion, noise, dirt, waste management, and lack of greenery. There are also some problems related to office space such as lack of enough, flexible, affordable office space, low quality buildings and old building infrastructure. There are also site-specific problems in each case. For example people in Soho complain about the long daily commutes and sex-trade related establishments, and as the streets are very similar to each other in terms of width, length and building styles, newcomers find Soho confusing; while in Beyoglu, pedestrianisation and the cafes are stated as major problems. Beyoglu has more problems in terms of the management of the cafe culture and pedestrian activity. These issues are summarised in Table 7.6 on the next page.

There are also problems related to socio-cultural issues. These do not have a great influence on Soho companies' decisions to relocate, but it appears that they do play a role in Beyoglu companies' location decisions. These factors such as migration, consumption-based investments, lack of collective spirit and unity have both direct and indirect effects on Beyoglu companies' location decisions, and are summarised in Table 7.7 on the next page. Issues related to economic problems differ as these countries have two different economic systems. However both Soho and Beyoglu suffer from high rents (which are again specific to any popular inner-city area) and an uncontrolled rent system as these rents are not controlled by the government institutions. On the

other hand Soho does not have many economic-related problems and in addition just being in Soho is cited as an economic advantage. These findings suggest that, these *general spatial and socio-economic conditions* negatively affected Beyoglu clusters whereas they were not very influential on the Soho cluster. This could be also referred to Van den Berg et al.'s (2001) analysis of clusters as introduced above on page 284.

Table 7.6 De-Clustering: Physical Problems (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

PHYSICAL PROBLEMS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Location and Land use	Congestion	Long daily commute	Walking distance to home
		Sex establishments (Positive and negative)	
Street Network	Narrow streets/car parking	Many similar streets/non-hierarchical	
Building Quality	Lack of reliable power supply		Lack of affordable/cheaper office space
	Lack of flexible office space		
	Lack of enough/big office space		
	Heating/Cooling problems		
Place Management	Smoking Ban	Street management plan	Pedestrianisation
	Lack of support from the council/municipality	Research/control/monitoring	Master plan approach
	Late night noise/dirt/rubbish	Local development framework	Large-scale holdings
		Land owners	New high-rise/large-scale developments
		Community involvement	Consumption based policies
		Cross-rail	Top-down approach

Congestion, high rents and dirt are stated as the major problems in both Soho and Beyoglu. In addition, people complain about the narrow streets which makes car parking the main problem in Beyoglu (Figure 7.8 on the next page). Both case studies' results demonstrated that rankings of the problems regarding the building and office space quality are similar, such as poor quality buildings, insufficient office space and insufficient power supply.

Table 7.7 De-Clustering: Socio-Cultural Problems (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
	Loss of locality	More digital/Artistic Scene has gone	Consumption - based developments
	Corporate places/Chain stores		Migration
	Crime/burglary		Lack of collective spirit
	Money-driven business		Deprived image
	Safety		

As these cases are historic/old places, the quality of building stock affects the location decision. Poor building quality, small office space, lack of big horizontal office space,

lack of adequate infrastructure (reliable power supply, heating/cooling-related problems and lack of lifts) are stressed as the main problems. Because of these problems companies in Soho moved towards a newer, better quality inner-city area, Noho; and in Beyoglu companies moved towards new business districts in the peripheries where multi-storey office blocks are located. Other place management-related issues such as noise, waste management and refuse-related problems accelerated the de-centralisation/relocation.

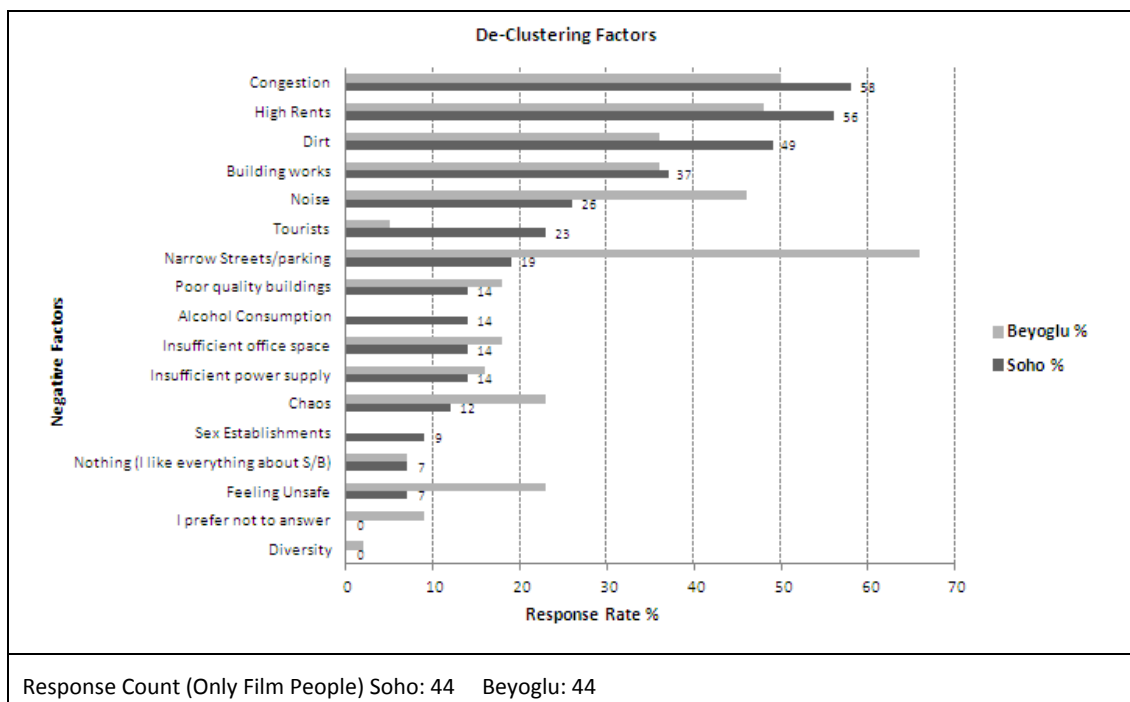


Figure 7.8 De-Clustering: Negative Factors (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

Location Change

Despite these problems raised in both the interviews and the questionnaires, when asked whether they have plans to change their location, people stated that they intend to stay in Beyoglu and Soho. Face to face interviews, telephone interviews and survey results confirm these findings. In Soho, the majority of the film companies, 77%, stated that they have no plans to move. When the survey results of all three groups are compared, 75% of people do not want to move out of the neighbourhood. The results are similar for Beyoglu; 80% of the film people and 62% of all the research participants indicated that they have no plans to move out. City centre living is still popular with people in all groups. However, if the many problems cited are not confronted, people

might run out of patience and move to the suburbs and other quieter and safer neighbourhoods (Figure 7.9).

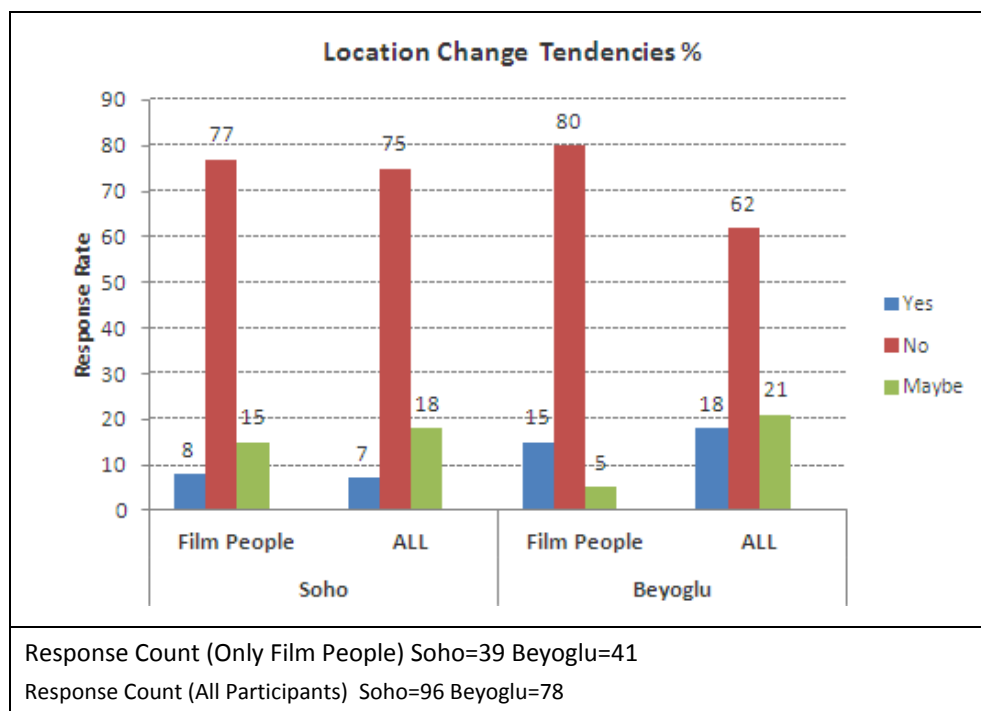


Figure 7.9 Location Change Tendencies (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu)

The Image of the Film Industry

Although Soho is a film cluster, it is not perceived as such by the residents, and even the key informants living in the area do not know that there are many companies located in Soho. Participants are also not able to say whether the number of film companies in the area is increasing or decreasing. These findings suggest that the film-related image of these two places as perceived by all the research participants is not very strong, as shown in Figure 7.10. One issue in particular emerges. In the Beyoglu study, one case is highlighted by the interviewees; that in the last couple of years in particular there has been a movement towards Beyoglu, and a new trend has been emerging especially around Area- 2, as introduced in Chapter 6.

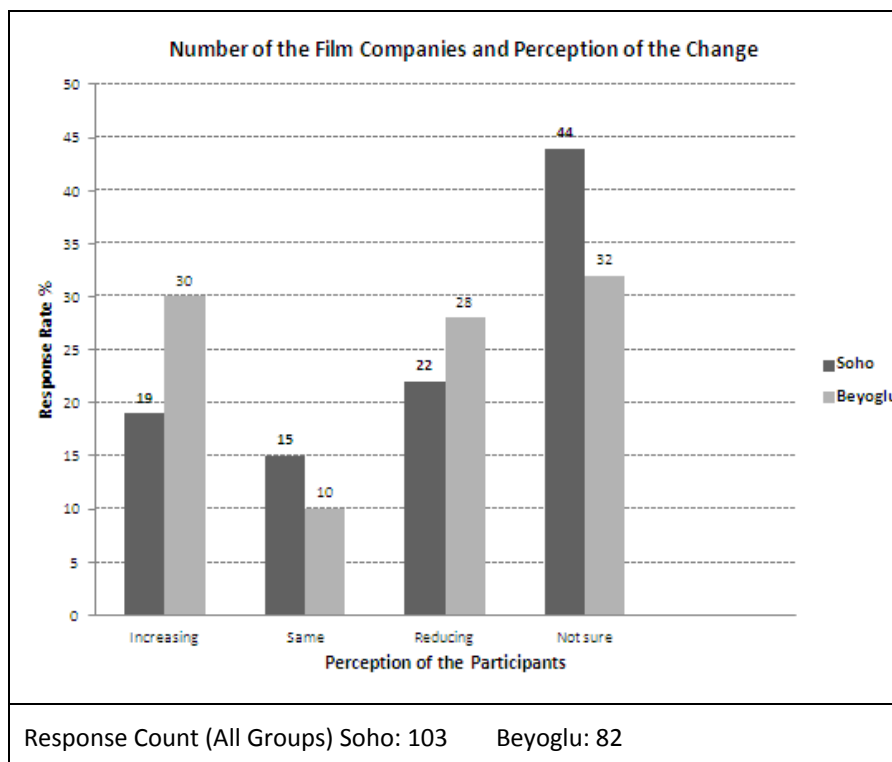


Figure 7.10 The Image of the Film Industry (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu All Groups)

The assets of both places contributing to clustering and also the negative factors accelerating de-clustering have been discussed above, focusing on the physical, socio-cultural perceptual and economic factors. Below these issues are evaluated exploring the role of urban place in inspiring and also contributing to the daily working processes of film people.

7.2.1 INTERACTIVE URBAN PLACES AND CREATIVITY

Creativity and its relation to urban place is described in different ways by people interviewed in Soho and Beyoglu. In Beyoglu, people mentioned many different sources of inspiration, although some of these appear to conflict. In Soho, people are more consistent in reporting a smaller set of the same things (Table 7.8 on the next page). This suggests that the sources of inspiration are different in these two places and Soho and Beyoglu inspire people in different ways. The following analysis assesses which of these possible causal factors of creativity are influential in Soho and Beyoglu.

Table 7.8 Comparison of Sources of Creativity (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

CREATIVITY SOURCES	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
Physical	City-living	Pubs/Cafe Culture	Living in Beyoglu
	History/Built heritage	Post-production companies	Main street-movement and inspirations
	Cafe Culture/urban buzz	Compactness-Incubation	Flow-Inspirations
	Atmosphere/Context		Soundscape/smellscape
			Spatial diversity
Socio-Cultural/Perceptual	Community	Film Community	Voyeurism-people watching
	Locality		Everyday life/diversity
	Marginal people		Conflicts/Chaos
	Cosmopolitan life		Informality/Drop-by
	Artistic Scene		Social problems/news/protests
			Social Events/workshops

Compact type of clustering in Soho provides interaction; while intensification increases chance encounters and prepares the ground for informal contacts. As Pratt (2000) highlighted, these informal contacts need to form the parameters of design and urban planning of places which are conducive to creativity. Due to its compactness and the density of the companies located in close proximity to one another, Soho is a more intimate place allowing these informal contacts. Interviewees stated that Istiklal Caddesi, the main street of Beyoglu, is one of the physical assets. People-watching along this street was described as inspiring. These differences are discussed below, focusing on two forms of interaction; active interaction and passive interaction.

Soho: Active engagement/interaction with people (Density and Compactness)

In Soho, creativity is mainly related to interaction, communication with people, exchanging ideas and being in close proximity to each other. Interviewees believe in the power of collective work, support and solidarity. They share jobs. People actively engage in Soho. They interact; they bump into each other in the streets, cafes, pubs or outside their company offices. The reasons for this active engagement might be:

- Compactness of urban form
- Small-scale buildings and the integration of the streets
- Density of the film companies is higher (Critical mass)
- More people working in the industry (Critical mass)

Soho has an urban buzz. Nice small restaurants, pubs, shops and cafes where creatives meet with each other and swap ideas, are considered as sources of creativity. Soho provides the atmosphere where people can meet with many others working in the industry. They meet and interact, and describe this as the main source of their creative stimulation. As there are 280 companies densely located in a one-square-mile area, consequently the possibility of meeting with someone from the industry is higher in Soho than in Beyoglu. The existence of many post-production companies also contributes to the creative atmosphere of Soho as many creative types work in these companies (Table 7.8 above, on page 304).

Beyoglu: Passive engagement, movement and flow

People-watching/observing/voyeurism

In Beyoglu many things are mentioned as sources of inspiration; Istiklal Caddesi, in particular, is mentioned by most of the participants. As it is a mixed use area there are many types of people using the area for different purposes along the street. People pass by, shop, go to cinemas or art galleries, meet, protest, eat, drink, read, go to the embassies, work, live or perform. The interviewees mention that they are inspired by the movement in Istiklal Caddesi. They like watching and observing other people. Rather than exchanging ideas, people watch each other as they go about their daily lives. As more people from different socio-economic demographic backgrounds live and work in Beyoglu, the socio-cultural variety has increased and the social mix has become more diverse as a result. As well as well-maintained places, depilated areas are stated as a source of inspiration particularly in neighbourhoods with different characteristics.

Creativity Process

In terms of the creative production process, two main themes emerge in both Soho and Beyoglu. The first is related to the individual creative production process and the second to the development of these creative neighbourhoods. In terms of creative process, people working in Soho did not talk much about how they come up with new ideas but rather emphasise that creativity might happen anywhere, anytime. In contrast, in Beyoglu, people all talk about creativity and the generation of ideas and

give more information about their working styles. In terms of the development of these two 'creative neighbourhoods', in both Soho and Beyoglu the majority of people emphasise that creativity is an unplanned activity and so the place should also develop in an unplanned, organic way. In particular, those interviewed in Soho do not prefer purpose-built creative precincts but prefer to be in a creative quarter that is located in a city centre, despite the problems of living in a city centre; whereas in the case of Beyoglu, there are some conflicting views towards this. These differences are summarised in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Creativity Process (Interviews: Soho and Beyoglu)

CREATIVITY PROCESS	SIMILARITIES	DIFFERENCES	
	SOHO and BEYOGLU	SOHO	BEYOGLU
	Anywhere anytime	Sharing	Curiosity, imagining, research, reading, observation
	It happens	Chance encounters	Not a talent, working hard, learning by experience
	Organic ways		group work
	No plan		Being responsive, subtle to social problems/conflicts
			Being updated/Gossips
			Being expressive
			Good relation with the world
			Young people-Similarity of filmmaking styles
			Being updated/gossips

There are also two stages to the individual creativity process; fertilisation and incubation which both form the creative production process. Soho allows interaction; Beyoglu provides flow. Speculatively it is possible to suggest that Beyoglu is a place for fertilisation while Soho is an incubator. In Soho, the majority of people mention similar things to do with communication, sharing ideas and interaction whereas in Beyoglu people mention many different things that sometimes conflict. So, for stimulation and fertilisation creative people like being in Beyoglu, but for incubation and saturation they prefer to be away from Beyoglu, somewhere quieter or more peaceful.

In both Soho and Beyoglu people relate urban place with creativity. All the research participants in Soho believe that Soho has a creative atmosphere, and 70% of people in Beyoglu indicated that Beyoglu has a creative atmosphere. There are not many differences in the choices of film people, residents and businesses as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. In this sense, it can be concluded that relation of urban place with

creativity is perceived in a similar way by film people, residents and businesses. Hence the discussion below focuses on the comparison of the findings based on all the research participants including film people, residents and businesses. Figure 7.11 presents the views of all research participants.

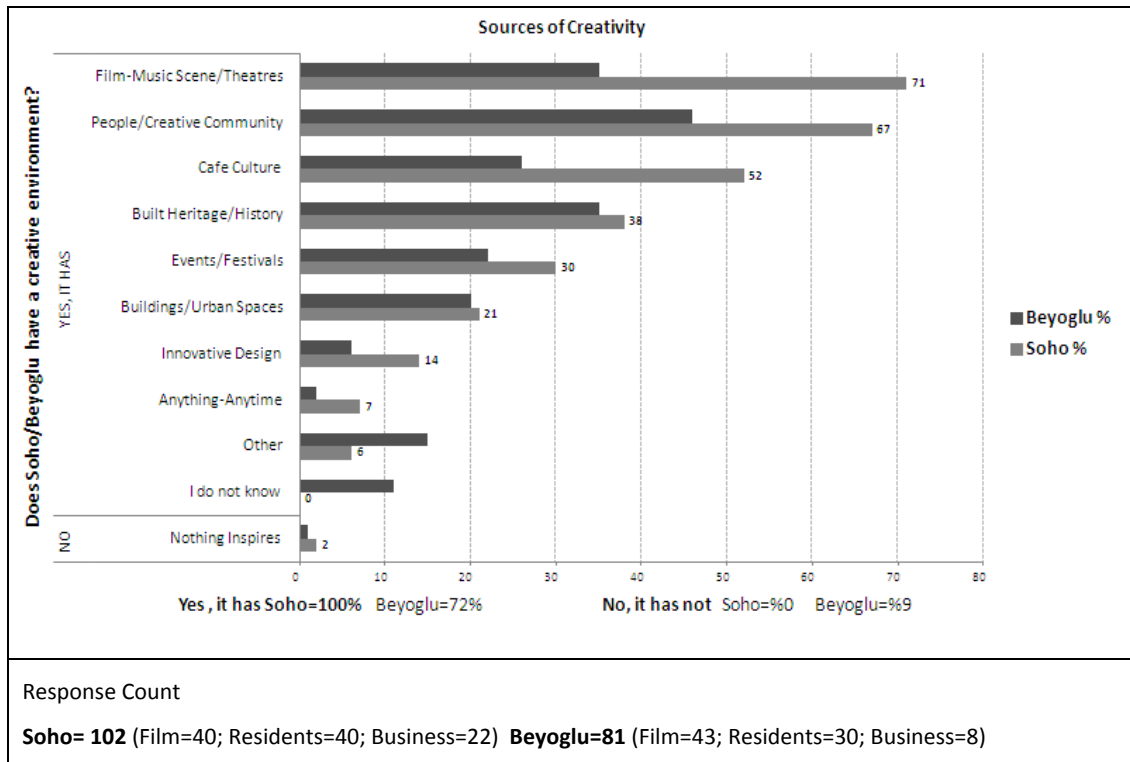


Figure 7.11 Creativity and Urban Place (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu All Groups)

The majority indicate that the film, music scene and theatres contribute most to creativity, followed by creative people/community. Cafe culture is highlighted as an important factor that affects creativity in both cases. As well as having a positive effect on the location decision of companies, cafe culture is also important for the individual creativity process (Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1999) and is ranked third in Soho and fourth in Beyoglu.

As discussed above, research participants believe that both places have a creative atmosphere however when they are asked what makes this atmosphere; in both cases most respondents do not perceive urban place characteristics as the sources of this creative atmosphere (ranked sixth in both case studies). Nevertheless, they do appreciate built heritage and history as an important source of creativity (rated as third in Beyoglu and fourth in Soho). On the other hand innovative design is rated less important (sixth in Soho and eight in Beyoglu out of nine parameters).

The results (people as a source of creativity) suggest that interaction between people is the source of ideas. For most people it is the 'people' that they come across, talk with, watch, and listen to, that inspires them. People are mainly inspired by each other through interaction whether active (talking) or passive (people watching). It is possible to argue that, rather than the urban place itself, people are the main source of creative ideas. In this sense, as the interview findings also indicate, it seems that the key factor is *interaction* that facilitates creative encounters. In relation to the interview results, it can be argued that urban place provides the stage for these interactions to take place. In this context, overlapping all the findings, interviews, questionnaires, mapping and also observations, this research suggests that interactive micro urban public places in particular play an important role in encouraging the interactions, as discussed below.

Interactive Micro Urban Public Places

As discussed above the permeability of built form affects the location patterns and the daily working process of creative workforce. In addition to these findings from the interviews, the observations and mapping suggest that some specific urban form and architectural space characteristics encourage the interaction between the people. People interact around the buildings, within the in between spaces between the building and the public realm. The Soho case in particular provides some examples towards categorising these places which helps to define these undefined, in-between, transitional, interstitial, interactive, dynamic or static public places, which have a dialogue with the buildings. As well as having a static, defined shape, the form of these places can change according to their dialogue with people; the number of people interacting, the speed of people, and length of time spent there, the type of activity they are engaged in, or the position of their body. These spatial characteristics which also contribute to the performance of permeability are categorised in Table 7.10 and pictorially described in Figure 7.12 on page 311.

Table 7.10 Interactive Micro Urban Public Places

Interactive Micro Urban Public Places		
Defined Shape	Linear	Pavements, lanes, passages, alleys
	Compact/rectangular/geometric	Mews, courts, squares, plazas
	Recess-Ledge	Alcoves, niches
Dynamic/Changing Shape	Ludic (Stevens, 2007)	Supported by a building/ an architectural element (Gehl et al., 2006)
Undefined Shape	Transitional zones around buildings (Gehl et al., 2006)	Formed by people's activities

In their article, Gehl et al. (2006) also referred to the importance of these *transitional zones* around buildings as vital to the creation of a lively vibrant urban life in cities. They suggested that the ground floor design of the buildings in particular stimulates these interactions, these close encounters around the buildings mingling with the public realm. Gehl et al. (2006) suggested that ground floors must have a special and welcoming design as they constitute a part of the public realm. These spaces can be private spaces belonging to the facade of a building, a niche, a recess lodge on a building on the ground floor. As well as having a defined shape, as is the case with mews, courtyards, alleys, or pavements, alcoves or niches, the forms of these spaces can be also undefined. These interstitial, dynamic public places are in a dialogue with the user. Their form can change depending on the activity taking place within and around them. Generally, architectural elements³ or any other street furniture⁴ that do not have a clearly defined purpose as a place of activity might stimulate activities to take place in these interactive micro urban public places. It could be a handrail, a little step at the entrance level of the building, a doorway or even a simple windowsill that can stimulate the interaction, or act as a magnet for people to stand, wait, linger, and talk on the phone. As seen in the picture in Figure 7.12 on page 312, a shop window can be a place of interaction while looking at the window. Sometimes, just the shape of the building façade can attract people to pause/stop-by.

³ **Architectural elements:** stairs, windowsills, handrails, doors, windows, doorways, window rails, columns, canopies, a wall, panel, arches, arcades, pillars, pilasters, quoin, nooks, ancone (Gehl et al., 2006).

⁴ **Street Furniture:** public or private bench, lamp, signpost, flower basket, seating, telephone boxes, bus stops, fountains, sculptures, public art, pavements, cycle locks,

7.2.2 MAPPING CREATIVITY

As presented through this chapter and in the case study Chapters 5 and 6 there is a whole range of factors that contribute to creativity. The research suggests that all these different layers discussed herein contribute to its creative potential and therefore they are of vital importance for creativity. If a creativity index is to be developed, these layers can be used to map and measure creativity. These layers are listed in Table 7.11 on page 312. The following steps are suggested for mapping the creativity potential of a creative place.

1. Photo documenting the buildings in the field
2. Identification of photos - giving them identification numbers
3. Preparing the database in Excel using the suggested layers in Table 7.11
4. Producing a detailed land use map based on these layers explained in Table 7.11
5. Producing the movement map with the alternative routes, interactive urban spaces , traffic and pedestrian movement and shared surfaces
6. Preparing an interactive map using GIS which is also accessible online



Figure 7.12 Interactive Micro Urban Public Places in Soho

Table 7.11 Layers of Creativity Map

Indicators: Creative Production	Cluster Mapping	Blue plaques/houses creative types and famous people lived Film industry companies (production, post production, distribution, Other creative industry clusters (Film, TV, Advertisement-Commercial-Creative services
Opportunities for Interaction	Shops	Antique/book shops Small groceries News agents Hardware stores Healthy food shops Chain store markets (Tesco, Sainsbury, Co-op, etc) Vintage shops Deluxe cleaning Design brands Street market/bazaar Art materials shop Musical equipment Record shops Arts and crafts (Jewellery shops) Health and Beauty Bidding Clothing/Gay clothing Bookshops Stationery/printing Bakery Off Licence (Liquor shops) Barbers/Hair dressers
	Restaurants	Italian Other Mediterranean Indian Other Asian Take away shops Chinese/Japanese/Thai
	Cafes/Bars	Wine bars Live music venues/ blues bars Tea/coffee houses/breakfast bars Jazz bars Sandwich bars Chain cafes (Starbucks, Nero, Pizza Express, Costa, EAT, etc) Pubs/taverns Clubs/Dance bars Pavement cafes
Conflicting/Marginal uses	Sex shops-nightlife-sexual services	Brothels/ Walk-ups/ model houses Gay Bars, Gay venues-dance clubs-gay shops Sex shops (toys, books, DVDs, magazines) Striptease clubs Adult cinemas Pole dancing/lap dancing clubs Nude peep shows Live stage shows Adult video shops Revue bars Gift/gadget shops Massage parlours

Analysing Quality of Place for Creativity

Based on the findings gathered from the Soho and Beyoglu cases the analytical framework derived from the literature review (see Chapter 3, Table 3.3 on page 84) is modified and presented below in Table 7.12. This final framework as shown in Table 7.12 is suggested to analyse the quality of place in the film industry-based inner-city creative clusters.

Table 7.12 Morphological Analysis Framework for Quality of Place

Quality of Place				
Complexity	Assets	Physical	Location and Land use	Diversity, proximity, centrality, clusters, cafe culture, mixed use with residential uses
			Urban Form	Interactive micro urban public places, compact- grid, walkability, legibility, permeability and porosity, accessibility
			Visual	Built heritage, convergence of old and new, streetscape
		Socio-Cultural	Social	Creative people, film community, residential community, tolerance
			Cultural	Events and festivals
		Economic		Clusters of creative industries, technology, talent pool
		Perceptual		Image-credibility, the atmosphere-context, place attachment, tradition/nostalgia
	Factors	Planning/Design Intervention	Management	Street management, traffic integration, licensing, planning permissions, conservation
			Control	Policing, research, monitoring
		Organic	Hard Networks	Technology, intra-company connectivity, infrastructure
			Soft Networks	Social interaction, community ties/networks/platforms
			Landowners	Ownership, place attachment
			Community	Leadership, engagement, place attachment
			Creative entrepreneurs	

This section (7.2) discussed the relationship between creativity and urban place, focusing on the importance of interaction and movement/flow and the characteristics of urban place that encourage these two. In the following section, the place-making processes that are taking place in both locations are discussed incorporating the findings from the interviews with the key informants and the questionnaires administered to all three groups (film people, residents, and businesses). The key elements of place-making issues, the perceptions of urban change and the factors affecting this change are discussed.

7.3 THE ROLE OF URBAN DESIGN AND PLANNING

The film clusters emerged in both cases without any policy-led initiative; both developed as a result of cluster-specific dynamics. There have been also different expansion and contraction processes operating in the clusters over time. For example, beginning from the 1980s the number of the companies increased in Soho whereas the 1980s were the period when most of the companies wound up or moved away from Beyoglu. In particular, the dislocation patterns were also quite different.

These de-clustering patterns are also affected by the different policy-led initiatives undertaken in both cases such place management strategies, difference in the application of conservation plans, pedestrianisation, and other top-down approaches. In Beyoglu many strategies were aimed at decentralisation, particularly those that were initiated in the 1980s, whereas in Soho, strong strategies or large-scale urban renewal projects were not applied. Instead, these projects were community-initiated, such as the 1970s activist movement and the Saving Soho campaign. Another, the Soho Clean-up Project, was initiated by the Council in the 1980s with the aim of increasing the quality of place, and eventually film and media companies started to move into Soho.

Place management strategies seem to have contributed to keeping the clusters together, especially conservation plans and street management plans, as it is the case in Soho. However, place management strategies might have accelerated the ongoing decentralisation process in Beyoglu beginning from the 1980s such as the reconstruction projects, Mayor's projects, pedestrianisation, lack of street management plans and the policies towards supporting retail activities rather than art-related uses.

The negative outcome of these policies was the creation of congestion-related problems, which pushed companies towards other new business districts. Although the film companies have moved out to other locations, a new trend has emerged in the last decade. There is a tendency towards locating in Beyoglu, especially in the

southern part in Area-2. This movement, together with the previously mentioned assets of Beyoglu in Chapter 6, can be a strong asset for future cluster developments.

Soho is a particular case in terms of the place-making processes that have taken place in the area. None of the strategies was introduced by the Council or by any strategic decision. In Soho, community involvement, involvement of the big landowners and the contribution of the film industry all play a significant role in clustering. The Council acts as a controlling and monitoring body by policing, initiating research projects, organising steering groups and neighbourhood forums rather than directing the development in Soho. It runs the planning applications by consulting the community associations and residents. The Council has promoted a number of research projects to understand the needs of creative industries; the outcomes have not yet been applied. In this context, the Council's role can be defined as what Montgomery (1995) terms 'urban stewardship', and also as supported by Tiesdell et al. (1996).

As discussed above, cafe culture contributes to Soho life and the Council plays an important role in managing this cafe culture in Soho by regulating the boundaries of spill-over of tables and chairs, limiting the amount of café furniture being used on the pavement, controlling the form and the materials of this furniture and also controlling the opening hours. On the other hand, although there are some regulations for the management of pavement cafes, Roberts and Turner (2005) pointed out some of the problems that arose from these cafes, bars and restaurants, especially at the weekends and especially along Old Compton Street which is known as the high street of Soho.

Another point also emerges concerning the street management of Soho is the co-existence of pedestrian and vehicle movement on the street. This flow on the street reminds Jacobs' (1961) *street ballet* description of which she was inspired by her window view overlooking the bustling inner-city in Greenwich Village, New York. In Soho this co-existence is not purposely introduced as a design framework or a strategy; rather, the current movement in Soho is the result of informal use of streets by the pedestrians and traffic in parallel. The research findings of Soho demonstrated that this co-existence is a positive factor for Soho in terms of sustaining the film

clusters whereas, as discussed in the Beyoglu case, pedestrianisation created problems and hence played a role in de-clustering. Based on these findings it is possible to suggest that shared *surface strategy* (Hamilton-Baillie, 2008) could work well in these types of busy inner-city neighbourhoods allowing the movement/flow, circulation of cars, pedestrians and cycles in parallel without having any surface differences. Furthermore, this research suggests removing the raised pavements and barriers in Soho and developing better solutions for the integration of pedestrians and vehicles in Beyoglu.

Community involvement based on leadership is particularly interesting and significant. It might be better to name this 'community leadership' rather than involvement, since it was not initiated by the Council and, in fact, initially at least, met with opposition from some Council officials and councillors. As Murray (2004) suggested, *the coordinated action* in Soho can be a key factor in its development process. A group of local residents formed the Soho Society to act as a forum and organisational focus for resisting decline and promoting positive development.

The other important factor that could be suggested as a positive place-making factor in Soho's development is the major landowners who also contribute to shaping the built fabric of Soho. As discussed in the Soho case, the existence of these landowners and their engagement with other community groups is crucial. They have a strong attachment to Soho which is clear from their own personal stories. This has also contributed to the community atmosphere of Soho. This could fit into the framework that Roodhouse (2006) introduced as a private sector-led model.

The Beyoglu case displays different dynamics in terms of the community leadership and the public participation. In addition, the landownership pattern and related urban development processes/dynamics are quite different. There are not major landlords in Beyoglu who also invests in their own properties and manages them in longer term. Instead there are emerging national companies who have been acquiring significant amount of property and initiating large-scale, consumption-related new developments (The Demiroren Shopping Centre) and urban transformation projects (Tarlawasi Project). This is seen as a threat to the locality and art/culture-related image of the

area. As for the community involvement, there is not a meaningful public participation in Beyoglu. The Beyoglu Municipality does not seem to consult with the community when taking decisions.

It is also important to mention the conflicting views held by the community groups concerning the involvement in the planning process. In both cases some of the key informants complain about the similar approaches of the Council/Municipality, where the community is not consulted with or involved in the planning process. However, as discussed in the Soho case, there are many different groups/platforms in Soho running various Soho/community-related events/projects and other types of social solidarity projects. Further, the Council consults these groups with the planning applications. In Beyoglu, even though these groups are not officially within the process their presence increases the public awareness. Hence it is possible to argue that regardless of the Council/Municipality approach the existence of these groups contributes to building the community which is appreciated by the people working in the film industry. Furthermore, in Soho, no one single group is dominant and this positively affects the development process through the long negotiation process. These different groups in Soho have established community networks and meet regularly to deal with the problems in the area. Further, their mutual agreement creates a common vision for the sake of Soho. These different groups and contesting interests should be considered as an opportunity in the development process of these neighbourhoods.

The film industry contributes hugely to Soho's socio-cultural life and the development and sustainability of the urban place. Film companies renovate the buildings, and maintain them. The film industry also acts as an 'invisible actor' contributing to Soho life. The findings of this research suggest that the film industry also helps in place-making by adding activity to the area, by providing talented young human resources, by renovating the buildings, by enhancing the community ties and by building a positive image of Soho (Soho Clarion, 2011:145; Int-S21). As well as the contributions the film industry makes to Soho life, the urban form of Soho has helped to accommodate the film industry for more than a hundred years. The sustainability of the clusters is due to urban form as well as its socio-cultural dynamics.

Networks: Community and Technology

As described in Chapter 2, there are two types of networks: hard networks such as technology and other intra-company networks like Sohonet, and soft networks such as community ties, social relations and so on. There are many community networks, platforms and groups which are active in Soho and to some extent involved in the planning process and also Sohonet. In contrast, Beyoglu has experienced problems in providing these networks. Beyoglu does not have a hard infrastructure, such as Sohonet, and community networks are not well organised and are not involved in the planning process. This also might be one of the reasons for the weak clustering in Beyoglu.

Soft Networks: Community

Community networks are an important factor in clustering in terms of providing the socio-cultural assets affecting location decisions and also individual creativity. As discussed in Chapter 5, Soho has strong community networks. Over the years, since 1972, the Soho Society has contributed hugely to Soho's present state. It was the efforts of the Society through protest and direct action that helped retain Soho's unique mixture of traders, visitors, residents, small businesses and craftsmen. The Society can claim credit for a number of remarkable achievements. The Soho Society lobbied for a Soho Conservation Area and since then, the Society has acted as a controlling mechanism opposing activities that threaten to blight the area and well-being of residents and businesses.

Although not as strong as Soho, The Noho area (North of Oxford street) is also a residential community that has strong community networks such as the Fitzrovia Neighbourhood Association. The mapping of the Soho and Noho clusters (See Section 5.2 in Chapter 5) highlights the shift towards to the north, to the Noho Area rather than to the east, west or south. It is significant that film companies preferred to move towards Noho rather than east, towards Covent Garden, which was seen as too touristic, or west to Mayfair, which was seen as too expensive, or south to China-Town, which was seen as ethnic-based and touristic. Although there is insufficient evidence to prove this, it is possible to argue that the community atmosphere of Noho

may have contributed to this shift as the property values are more similar to those in Soho than in Mayfair.

In both cases community life is found to be one of the socio-cultural factors, both as a factor in the location decision of companies and also as a positive factor in revealing the individual's creativity potential. It is possible to generalise that places that have community networks also have certain characteristics that film people appreciate.

In addition to these community networks as discussed in Chapter 2, Florida (2002) claimed the 3 Ts as the drivers of creativity and suggested the close link between technology, talent, tolerance and creativity. Below the effects of technology, talent and tolerance on clustering are discussed and their effects on spatial and social clustering are compared within the two cases.

Hard Networks: Technology

The effect of technology on the Soho and Beyoglu clusters differs between the two. Technology is perceived as a supportive positive factor in Soho's development whereas it is perceived as a disruptive factor in Beyoglu. Technology is a factor accelerating the clustering process for Soho. In Soho the connectivity provided by Sohonet is one of the important reasons for clustering. The mapping and email survey highlighted that companies started to cluster in Soho especially after 2000. As Sohonet was established in 1995, it is possible to argue that Sohonet might have been well contributed to the increase of the number of the companies locating in Soho (See Chapter 5.2). Companies wanted to share the benefits of clustering and take advantage of Sohonet. In contrast, in Beyoglu, technology had a negative impact on clustering. As companies are less dependent on being in the same place technology actually played a de-clustering role. This had an impact on the location decisions of new generation companies. Rather than being in close proximity in Beyoglu, they prefer to be in new business districts like Levent and Maslak, where they can have better quality office space and a more sanitised environment. The home office also emerged as a common working style in Istanbul on which technology has an obvious effect.

The questionnaires also highlight this. Although technology is not rated as highly as other factors in the urban transformation process it is possible to compare the

influence of technology on both cases based on the interview results/mapping and internet search. As shown in Figure 7.14, 10% of the participants in Beyoglu indicate that technology is a disruptive factor and none of them said that technology is a supportive factor, whereas 9% of the participants in Soho indicated technology as supportive factor and only 4% saw it as disruptive.

Talent

Another factor suggested by Florida (2002) as contributing to clustering was talent. The research findings from both case studies confirm this; for Soho 27% of the respondents selected talent as an economic asset of the area as it is home to many experienced and skilled people (Figure 7.7, on page 299). This 'talent pool' is also perceived as a source for the individual's creativity process. As discussed above, when they are asked to name the sources of creativity, people selected creative people; 67% in Soho with second ranking and 46% in Beyoglu with first ranking (Figure 7.11, on page 307). As well as an economic asset and an important source of creativity, talent is also emphasised as one of the socio-cultural assets of both places.

There is, however, a difference in terms of the effect of talent on clustering between Soho and Beyoglu. Beyoglu, especially Cihangir neighbourhood, is known as the 'artist house' where many famous TV/film actors and other celebrities live; whereas Soho is not recognised as a place where famous people live. The research findings suggest that, in Beyoglu (Cihangir) the newly opened cafes in the area have contributed to the increase of the artist population in the area. These creative people meet in these cafes, to socialise for job hunting, and to discuss screenplays or auditions. This life style attracted other creative types and Cihangir has become a place where artists live as well as work. Soho on the other hand is the working place of creative and talented people, and hence it is suggested that this talent pool has a positive effect on clustering.

Tolerance

The interview findings indicate that tolerance and its relation to urban development and creativity are quite different in Soho and Beyoglu. One of these differences is the approach/attitude towards gay people and other marginals. The long-standing

residents of Cihangir did not want gay people living in the area and conflicts in 1999 forced this group to leave the neighbourhood. Police and local residents co-operated to force these people out. This is also related to the socio-cultural context of Turkey as a whole, which is not a gay-tolerant country; hence tolerance it is not just a Beyoglu factor. In particular, Beyoglu is known as the most tolerant place in Turkey. It could be suggested that that tolerance is also a matter of metropolitan and national-scale issues; not just depends on the neighbourhood-scale factors.

There is a class difference between these long-standing residents and the new comers especially the marginals/gays/intellectual that moved to area after 1990s. This class difference also may have been affecting the tolerance levels. It is possible to argue that the existing residents might have perceived this movement as an invasion to their area. This socio-economic class difference might have created conflicts between the existing residents and the new comers.

Soho on the other hand is known as the 'gay village' of London (Collins, 2004) and there are numerous gay venues, stores, shops, clubs, pubs, and bars serving for this group. In addition to this, based on the observations onsite many gay people in Soho clearly express themselves and appear confident in doing so; and comfortable with their existence in Soho. However the relevant community association thinks that the Council does not meet the needs of gay people; it is reported that gay people encounter numerous problems, such as hate crime and violence. For example a pub which is known as a gay venue was bombed in 1999 and three people died and many people were wounded. In addition, the related community association claimed that Soho's 'gay village' image is a product of city marketing strategies as the bars and pubs are mainly owned by heterosexual people and as they are not gay owned.

Another issue related to tolerance is the social conflicts and tensions between the various socio-ethnic groups living in Beyoglu. As well as open-minded people, there are also conservative groups living in different small neighbourhoods of Beyoglu, which creates tension. Conservative groups living in Cihangir, especially in Tophane area, attacked a gallery opening as people were drinking outside on the street. However, although problems do exist, people still consider Beyoglu as the most tolerant

neighbourhood in Istanbul. This is why those interviewed emphasised that artists want to live in Beyoglu (especially Cihangir) as they feel comfortable. On the other hand, there are hardly any conflicts in Soho between the different ethnic groups or different minded people. Although there are different ethnic groups and nationalities living in Soho (Brooker, 2011) it is not possible to make a distinction between whether the people living there are conservative or open-minded.

As discussed above, the dynamics related to the 3 Ts (Florida, 2002) are quite different in the two cases. In Soho, talent and technology are perceived as part of the economic and socio-cultural assets and findings indicated that there are not as many issues or conflicts relating to tolerance as there are in Beyoglu. Consequently, these weak connections with technology-talent-tolerance in Beyoglu can be interpreted as a negative factor on clustering in Beyoglu, while the relatively strong links identified in Soho might have a positive influence on clustering in Soho.

Urban Change

This section is about the overall characteristics of the two places as perceived by the film people, residents, and businesses. When the results are compared both Soho and Beyoglu are perceived as changing rather than being stable which is highlighted as important in terms of the creative sparks and stimulation. As also suggested by Gehl (2011: 25) “a fluid and evolving urban environment, rather than a static, monotonous one”, is an important factor on stimulation which Gehl (2011) emphasised is an important need of human beings.

When the results from both cases are compared there are both positive and negative changes. In Soho over two-thirds of people see an improvement. In contrast, equal numbers of people see Beyoglu as declining. Most people in both places see an increasingly cosmopolitan, diverse and bohemian environment as a positive change, although there are some differences noted. In terms of diversity, in Soho, increasing homogenisation is considered a problem whilst in Beyoglu people do not perceive this in the same way. In terms of negative changes to the physical environment, both Soho and Beyoglu participants mention dirt and noise as a problem (Figure 7.13, on the next page).

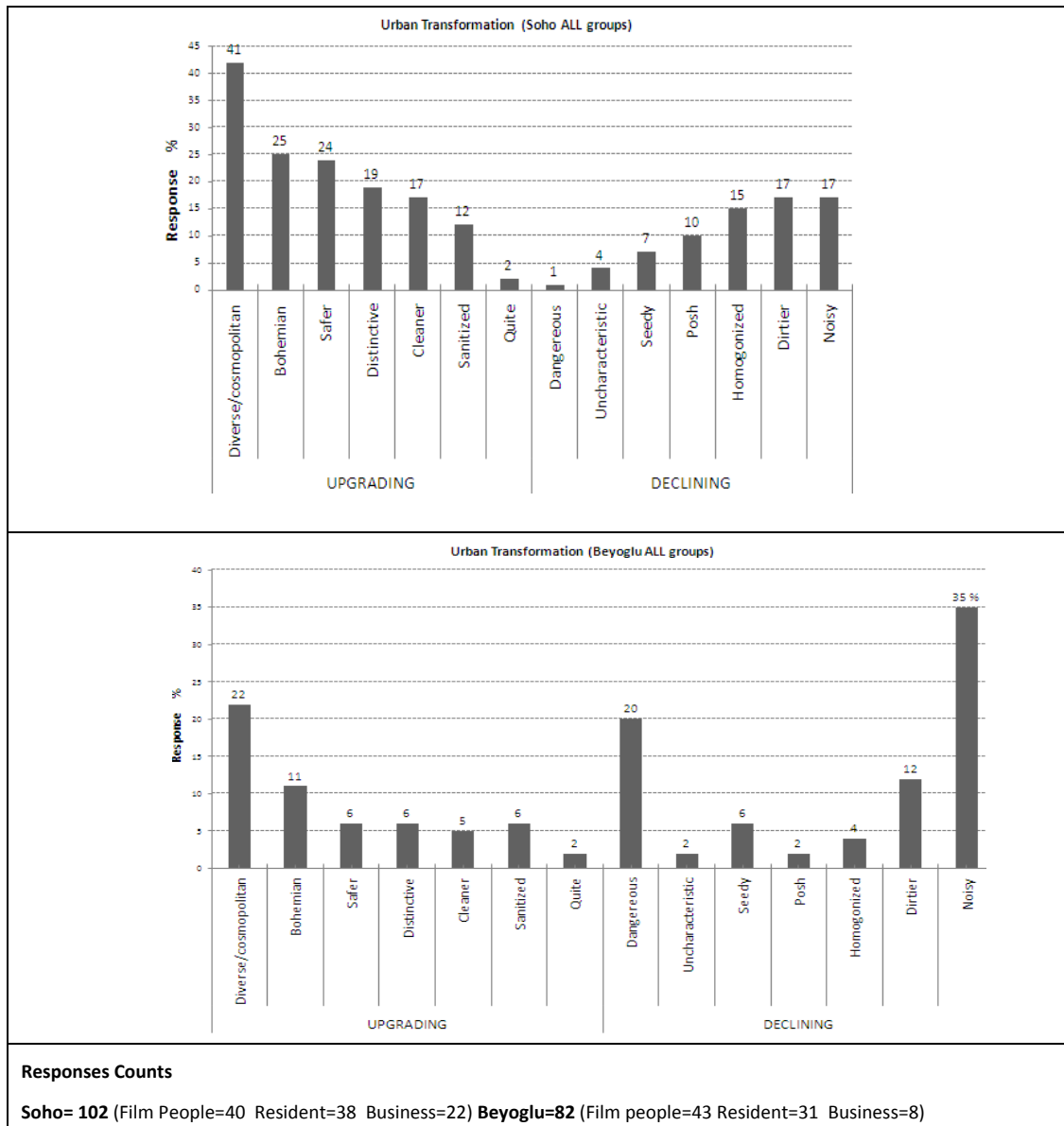


Figure 7.13 Urban Change in Soho and Beyoglu (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu All Groups)

Factors of Change

Perhaps the most important finding in this research is that the drivers for change are quite different in Soho and Beyoglu. This is important to understand the results of the different place-making processes on clustering. The projects of the Council are perceived as the most important factor of urban change in Soho followed by policing and new developments. Community involvement, cafe culture and film industry are also rated as important. In Soho after a slow start in the 1970s, especially with the effect of community groups, the local Council has taken a leading role in promoting positive change in Soho. In contrast, in Beyoglu the Municipality has not been very effective in promoting positive change. In Istanbul, cafe culture is seen as the most

important causal factor in urban change. In addition, the film industry is highlighted as an important factor (sixth rank in Soho; fourth rank in Beyoglu) (Figure 7.14 below). In addition to these findings it is important to highlight the Council's approach towards the sex industry in Soho. The Council has been running a cleanup project on the sex-related image of Soho. This research argues that this might not work well as a positive strategy as the sex-related image is perceived as one of Soho's characteristics. Further empirical research is needed to prove the role of the sex industry in the area in providing a decline/growth balance.

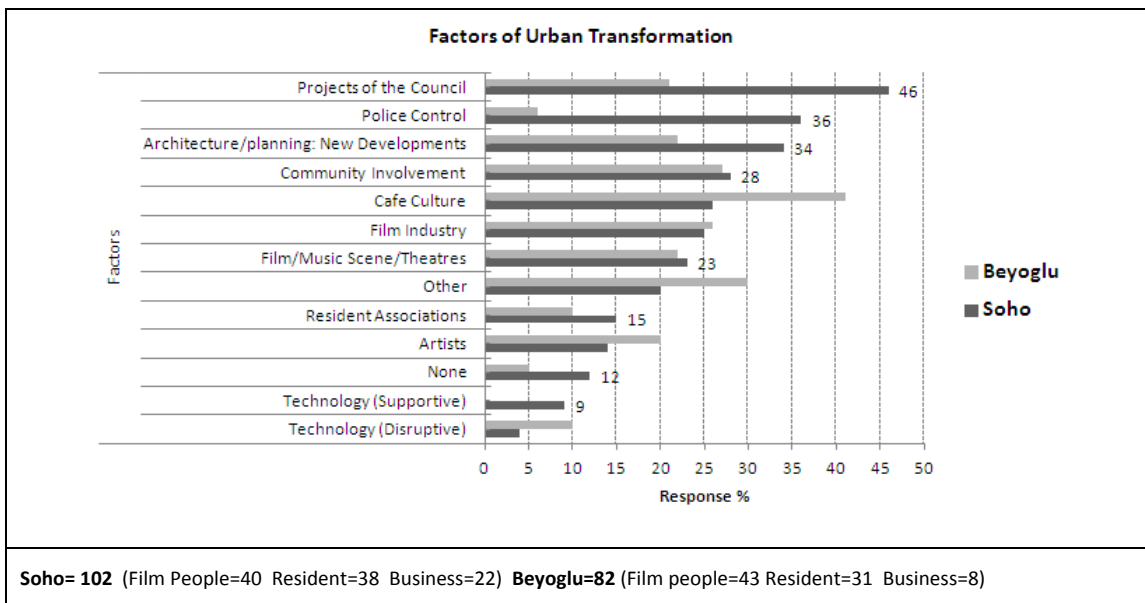


Figure 7.14 Factors of Urban Change (Questionnaires: Soho and Beyoglu All Groups)

This chapter evaluated the factors that make the creative assets of Soho and Beyoglu contribute to clustering. The characteristics of urban place and the place-making processes of Soho and Beyoglu are identified as the factors contributing to the location decision of companies (whether clustering or de-clustering) and also to the individual's creativity process. This research suggests that characteristics of place cannot be independent of its place-making process and the socio-cultural economic factors affecting this. As evaluated within this chapter, the factors affecting this process are interwoven. Not one single factor dominates the location decision, urban transformation or creativity. *Complexity* (Alexander, 1965; Rapaport and Hawkes, 1970) is the key word that could explain and describe the changing economic system and its spatial requirements, transformations. Hence, it is possible to argue that it is the overall complexity that contributes to clustering.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

This research explored the different aspects of the spatiality of creative clusters, focusing on the film clusters in Soho and Beyoglu. This cross-national case study aimed to explore and identify the similarities and differences of clustering in two different contexts to gain a deeper and more critical understanding of its relationship with quality of place and place-making initiatives/processes. This *thesis-oriented conclusion chapter* (Bunton, 2005) summarises the main findings of the research, identifies the shortcomings of the methodology, discusses the possible generalisations and evaluates the significance of the findings.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND MAIN FINDINGS

The research posed three main questions regarding the relationships between clustering, quality of place and place-making. The questions were formulated as follows:

1. *Clustering and Importance of Location*: Why do businesses and people involved in creative activities (i.e. film companies and film people) cluster in specific parts of cities?
2. *Product: Clustering and Characteristics of Urban Place*: To what extent do characteristics of urban place play a role in supporting the clustering of film companies and film people?
3. *Process: Clustering and Place-making Process*: To what extent do place-making initiatives support the emergence, growth and sustainability of these clusters? What is the role of urban design in supporting the clusters and achieving the quality of place?

The first question aimed to explore the overall factors impacting on clustering. The research findings demonstrated that there are three main factors affecting clustering in Soho and Beyoglu. The first is the economics of clustering; the second is the importance of location, and the third is the interaction between film people and also intra-company relationships. These are discussed below.

Economics of Clustering

There is a complex set of factors associated with the emergence, sustainability and growth of the clusters as discussed in detail throughout the thesis. Three points can be raised explaining the most of the dynamics involved. One of them is the economic advantages that clustering provides (Porter, 1998). Soho and Beyoglu present different conditions regarding the economics of clustering. In Soho, the economic advantages of clustering are acknowledged and companies appreciate being in close spatial proximity as a result, whereas in Beyoglu the dynamics are quite different and being in close proximity to others is not a criterion of location decision. Sometimes it may even prove to be a negative factor as some people believe that clustering will bring similarities and they perceive this as a disadvantage to their competitiveness; subsequently, they are not willing to co-operate. Beyoglu clusters do not have the economic linkages as companies do not co-operate and there is intense competition between them, whereas in Soho, collaboration is one of the competitive tools. As Porter (1998) suggested, clustering in Soho has emerged through economic advantages, whereas in Beyoglu, economic benefit is not the key consideration. In this context, and due to the many related factors explained in Chapter 7, the Soho cluster may be conceptualised as an *Industrial Complex* and Beyoglu clusters fall into the *Pure Agglomeration Model* (Gordon and MacCann, 2000).

The economic advantage of clustering is also related to the prevailing level of industrial integrity and the level of development of the film industry. As Nachum and Keeble (1999a:13) suggested, “the nature of film production, in which there are high levels of fragmentation and specialisation, is likely to make the economies arising from geographic proximity more important than other industries which the nature of the production differs”. In Soho in particular the fragmented nature of post-production which is *horizontally integrated* (Scott, 2002) requires clustering, whereas in Beyoglu, post-production facilities are usually integrated in one big office offering all the services related to post-production, which is *vertically integrated* (Scott, 2002) and hence do not need clustering. But the majority of production companies are located in Beyoglu as they use the socio-cultural amenities more than the post-production companies do.

To summarise, economics of clustering can explain the clustering for advanced/developed industrially integrated clusters (i.e. Soho). However this is not the driving factor behind every cluster particularly if they are just clustered due to the locational factors (i.e. Beyoglu).

Location

The second factor explaining clustering is the location factor. The findings are similar in both cases, thus supporting the importance of location. The findings of this research support the arguments of Hall (1996), Arefi (1999) and Pratt (2000) that place and location still matter as *place-based face to face interactions* are still crucial especially for the twenty-first century creative economy. The findings of the research also supports Madanipour's (2011) arguments for the spatiality of the knowledge economy. Hence location contributes to clustering as it facilitates interactions. The findings from both Soho and Beyoglu support the fact that place-based characteristics are influential for the location decisions of film companies and on the creative production process. Refuting the theories of *weightless economy* (as cited in Pratt, 2000), *spaceless economy* (as cited in Hall, 1996), and *non-place public realm* (Weber, 1964), location still matters and physical assets of places are important in the information age: "Physical proximity facilitates these untraded dependencies and patterns of interaction...Face to face communication of formal and informal, planned, chance and serendipitous nature are important" (Pratt, 2000: 434). Furthermore, these findings oppose the thesis of *death of the distance* which Pratt (2000) also refuted. The death of the distance theory suggested that: "the role of physical location is no longer relevant; producers will be free to locate where they wish...Cities will decline as centres of economic activity and be replaced by dispersed teleworkers" (Pratt, 2000: 427).

As discussed above, the main factor contributing to clustering is the complexity of these places which have a wide variety of people, activities, public places and buildings. There are many different layers of factors juxtaposed in one location thereby increasing the importance of location. For a creative industry, like film, this increases efficiency and productivity. As well as spatial factors, socio-cultural factors are also

implicated. These places stimulate their intrinsic world. Creative people, especially film people, like city-living. On the other hand a love/hate relationship is observed, based on the collected data. As Gornostaeva (2008) emphasised, as well as location, life-style choices of these people are affecting the clustering. Some people say that they want to live in the city centre, some say that they would like to move to the suburbs; but many actually want a 3D world; inner-city life, suburban living and great connectivity. At this point reference can be made to what Pratt (2000:34) emphasised as the importance of *leveraging these social spaces into physical spaces and virtual spaces*.

Social Interaction

The third main factor on clustering is the social interaction. As discussed earlier in Chapter 7, 'people' are cited as the main source of creativity and they are mainly inspired by each other. In this sense social interaction is crucial; and the permeability of built form which is enhanced with interactive micro urban public places encourages these interactions and intra-company relationships particularly in Soho. This contributes to clustering; of both companies and individuals.

This research also emphasised the importance of perceived qualities, or *intangible assets*, which are directly related to the individual's feelings and perceptions. They are also very important in encouraging the interactions between people. Hence, as Alony and Jones (2007) suggested, these intangible assets of quality of place incubate creativity such as sense of community (Lund, 2002), place attachment, creative feel, image (particularly in Soho), tradition/nostalgia (particularly in Beyoglu) (Gifford, 1997), which are stated as important to location decisions of creatives, whether these decisions are made by companies or individuals. In this context this study also revealed that those emotional links with the places, as discussed in environmental psychology, are also important for creativity and clustering and should be one of the key considerations of planning and design strategies.

The second question was posed to explore why and to what extent spatial/physical characteristics of urban place support clustering. Several sets of factors were suggested as the characteristics of successful places as introduced in the literature within the initial frameworks discussed in Chapter 3. The findings of the research

highlight that some of these factors appeared to be more influential on the emergence, sustainability and growth of the clusters, such as proximity, accessibility, walkability and street structure, permeability and porosity of urban form enhanced with interactive micro urban public places, compactness and other factors integrated with socio-cultural factors such as café culture, sense of community and image. These factors are discussed below.

Most of the traditional principles and objectives of urban design are relevant to creativity, such as mixed use, diversity (Jacobs, 1961) and legibility (Lynch, 1960). However, permeability, fine-grain urban pattern and porosity (Jacobs, 1961) are particularly important because they support walkability which is the most important factor in provoking creative encounters. As discussed above, chance encounters and informal contacts (Pratt, 2000) are very important in providing new ideas as people are inspired by each other. Especially, in Soho, the notion of porosity is relevant to walkability. Specifically, short cuts that allow people to weave their way from one place to another and take alternative routes as well as interactive micro urban public places enrich the walking experience and also facilitate interactions. In Beyoglu the existence of Main Street and the activities that take place along its length is the most important reasons for walking, also allowing inspiration and people watching. At this point the traditional street structure that is observed in both cases appears to be the main factor in walkability.

Another factor is the role of traditional street structure (both Beyoglu and Soho) which increases the performance of urban form allowing walkability. In addition, streets are an important element in the emergence of the clusters as well as perpetuating them; they are the urban elements where clustering first starts. Clusters in both locations have grown along a street and then have extended across other parts of Soho and Beyoglu (i.e. Warwick Court, Wardour Street, Cecil Court, Yesilcam Street and Gazeteci Erol Dernek Street,).

Another measure that appears to support the walking experience is the interactive micro urban public spaces. The characteristics of these places are explained in detail in Chapter 7. The conceptualisation of the term is inspired by the findings of Frei and

Bohlem (2009: 30-32) who suggested that “MicroPublicPlaces are the mini institutions at the intersections of public interests...MicroPublicPlaces are small, many and distributed throughout the city”. However, their study focuses on small-scale buildings¹ and the design of different street furniture providing the interactions between users of the places. Hence the findings of this research, especially based on the Soho findings, suggest that in addition to these small-scale buildings the small-scale urban spaces in between the buildings and public realm could bridge these two and provide spaces for dynamic interactions. That is why this research terms the concept as *interactive micro urban public spaces*.

The findings draw parallels with Gehl et al.’s (2006) findings of the contribution of the ground floor design of the buildings to the lively, vibrant public realm enriching walkability and interaction with people. Montgomery’s (1990) findings about *transitional spaces* between public and private easing the movement and encouraging the flow of activities lend support to this thesis.

The compact urban form and the small-scale are highly effective in sustaining these clusters, especially in Soho. The enclosed, permeable, traditional street structure with its grid form hugely contributes to keeping clusters together in Soho, whereas in Beyoglu, urban form does not appear to be a strong supportive factor for clustering as it has a more dispersed structure along the main street (i.e. Istiklal Caddesi). In addition, both places also have different effects on people’s creativity processes: generally the high street provides flow and movement for inspiration and the compactness of Soho provides interactions for incubation.

Hence, as well as being one of the main objectives of urban design, enriching the walking experience, which in turn increases the incubation and inspiration processes of creativity and chance encounters, also should be part of place-making initiatives that aims to support/develop creative clusters.

¹ i.e: MicroPublicSchool, MicroPublicPiazza, MicroPublicArena, MicroPublicKiosk, MicroPublicChapel, MicroPublicLibrary, MicroPublicSquare, MicroPublicArtMuseum.

The urban form, especially the fine grain fabric, well serves the film industry which consists of several small- and large-scale companies. There are several stages in film production; interlinked processes that require many specialised activities and firms. Making a film involves a chain of activities, and film companies involved in this chain specialise in different processes (such as visual effects, light, sound, costume, etc). That is why location matters for a film company, both in terms of transferring materials and data and in terms of managing the different stages of the film project. Adaptability of urban form and buildings fit well with the requirements of the film industry; and the film industry is a good fit in these areas (i.e. Soho). Most importantly, film companies do not change the environment to any great extent as they do not need major changes in the already existing built form. They can fit in once the necessary social infrastructure exists and it is generally possible to adapt the current building stock to their needs. In addition, the film industry contributes to the activation of streets, and providing the talent pool; contributes to a vibrant cafe culture; contributes to renovation and upgrading of existing old buildings; contributes to the public realm, and helps in developing image enhancement.

The third question aimed to understand the role of urban design in the emergence, sustainability and growth of clusters. In both cases, as traced within the historical parts of Chapters 5 and 6, the clusters emerged without any strategic policy intervention or support. Both places developed in an organic fashion over time; they did not have purposeful large-scale planning intervention or an induced strategy towards cluster development. In this context, based on the findings gathered from Soho and Beyoglu, this research suggests that there is not much that urban design can do to initiate clustering. Once the conditions were grown organically, however, then urban design can take on a role to support the sustainability and growth of these clusters.

As discussed within Chapter 2, many scholars categorised the urban intervention as *vernacular/engineered* (Shorthouse, 2004), *un-planned/organically developed* or *planned/institutionally developed* (Bell and Jayne, 2004), *organically* or *by superimposition* (Turok, 2004), or as *accidental fashion/purposeful* models (Tallon, 2010). These scholars discussed the different ways of intervention and the strengths of each model. The discussion below is structured based on this conceptual background

and the models are referred to as *un-institutional/organic* and *institutional/policy-led* approaches. The first involves the organic factors such as hard and soft networks, small-scale interventions, community leadership/involvement, and place attachment of urban actors, role of land-owners and creative-entrepreneur-led initiatives and many other small-scale, local spatial dynamics. The latter involves the place management, management of traffic, cafes and streets, controlling mechanisms and conservation.

Un-institutional/Organic Approaches

The actors who are involved in the urban development process, property and land owners, residents, community groups, creative entrepreneurs (both in Soho and Beyoglu), contribute to perpetuating the clusters through both providing and preserving the creative assets of the place; particularly as seen in the Soho case. Specifically, the ownership and the place attachment of these actors offer positive inputs and stimulants for the development process. Familiarity and a lived experience contribute to their engagement with the place, which Parfect et al. (1997), Chapman and Larkham (1999), and Murray (2004) suggested improves the quality and integrity of the decisions of the urban actors. On the other hand, in Beyoglu, the consumption-based projects, large-scale urban transformation projects and Mayor's projects in the 1980s, the outcomes of which played a role in de-clustering.

So in this case, place attachment of the actors involved in the place-making process and ownership are important in terms of contributing to the development process of the area. At this point, in addition to Montgomery's (1995) definition of community which consisted of self-organised traders, residents, voluntary sector and landowners, the findings of the research suggest that the businesses operating in the area, landowners investing in the area and the property market could be defined as part of the community. Subsequently, the research findings have some parallels with the suggestion of Tiesdell et al. (1996) that the land owners should be involved in the planning process of creative neighbourhoods.

Another finding also emerged concerning cluster development which is *creative entrepreneur-led initiatives*. This supports the arguments of Roodhooze (2006) and

Evans (2009b) that the creative entrepreneur developments may well contribute to cluster formation, perpetuating the clusters or ensuring their sustainability. As well as the literature findings, for instance Film City Glasgow and Filmbyen, the findings from both cases provide arguments for the contribution of creative people in initiating projects such as Sohonet in Soho, and Erman Han in Beyoglu. Although Sohonet and Erman Han were not initiating factors in the formation of the Soho and Beyoglu clusters, nonetheless, they have made significant contributions to perpetuating them.

These factors summarised above, as the decisions of individuals and companies (Madanipour, 2011), shaped the socio-cultural and physical settings/conditions that affected clustering. All could be termed organic factors as they are not initiated by public policy.

Institutional/Policy-led Approaches

As well as these organic factors, the projects of the Council/Municipality such as place-management strategies and controlling/monitoring mechanisms affected the clustering. One of the findings that emerged relating to sustaining the clusters is the co-existence of traffic and pedestrian movement rather than separation of them as it is applied by traditional pedestrianisation approaches (Hamilton-Balilei, 2008). The case studies provide contrasting examples of two approaches; the co-existence of the vehicles and pedestrians on the street in Soho and a pedestrianisation approach in Beyoglu. At that point, the lessons derived from Beyoglu, in particular suggest that traditional pedestrian-only strategies, which ban and relocate vehicle traffic away from certain areas/streets, do not always generate positive results in these busy inner-city locations, particularly in terms of providing for the needs of the businesses and film clusters. The evidence from Soho suggests that co-existence of vehicle and pedestrian movement contributes to clustering of the film companies. Soho does not have a *shared space strategy* as Hamilton-Baillei (2008) conceptualised; whether co-existence in Soho could be happening informally, which could thus be described as *informal shared space*. However this research suggests that policies could be developed for both cases to serve the pedestrian and traffic movement better.

Another key finding that emerged is related to the management of *cafe culture* and in particular *pavement cafes* (Montgomery, 1997) as places of interactions, and people-watching which fosters the coming-up-with-new-ideas. As Oldenburg (1989: 1) also suggested, cafes are the “third places or great good places where people can gather and hang out simply for the pleasures of good company and lively conversation”. In that context *cafe culture* works best if the relationships between the pavement cafes and streets are well designed and managed with appropriate controlling mechanisms. If pavement cafes are not managed well, this may result in congested spaces as seen in the Beyoglu case. Although congestion levels are also high in Soho, especially at the weekends (Roberts and Turner, 2007), this does not tend to cause conflict. However, in Beyoglu, the lack of street management results in conflicts between residents, businesses, visitors, café/bar/restaurant owners and the Municipality. This also may be related to the differences in the profiles of the residents and their approach towards urban living. It may be that, in Soho business, visitors and residents understand the rules of co-existence in the busy inner-city locations and might have accepted the difficulties of urban living and thus being more tolerant. On the other hand, as many of the residents in Beyoglu are occupied by families, presence of other urban activities may lead to conflicts.

Small-scale Interventions

One of the important findings of this research is related the dimensions of design, the matter of scale. As Gehl (2010:118) posited, “the battle for the quality is the small-scale”. This is important in architectural design, urban design and urban planning. It is possible to argue that small-scale urban interventions, small-scale architecture, small-scale urban places (e.g. interactive micro urban public places) and small neighbourhoods, as in the case of Soho, suggest that creativity is also related to these small things. Small-scale is good. At this point, Whyte’s (1980) study about the importance of *small urban spaces contributing to the social life of cities* supports this argument. The findings have described how small-scale places contribute to clustering through encouraging interaction (i.e. Soho) and also by providing the proximity, intimacy and efficiency that those companies need. It is possible to generalise that it is the small-scale interventions that are encouraging these spatial formations. They

evolved over time with the involvement/decisions of numerous urban actors and factors causing the incremental changes which are directly related to the local spatial dynamics. As derived from the Soho case, small-scale interventions, such as the public art projects or public art-related events, initiatives of the urban actors, the control mechanisms of the Council and enhancing the cafe culture, were also found to be contributing to the creative environment of Soho. Achieving the overall quality and complexity is not about large-scale urban development projects and long-term strategies or policies. The research has demonstrated the effectiveness of these 'small things' in Soho, whether in cluster development or constructing the characteristics of Soho; whereas it has shown how large-scale urban projects have affected Beyoglu's dynamics negatively, consequently resulting in de-clustering.

Inner-city Clustering

As discussed in Chapter 7, the projects of the Beyoglu Municipality encouraged de-clustering whereas in Soho no single factor initiated by the Council resulted in re-location or dislocation. In addition, it is observed that companies tend to cluster in inner-city locations. Hence policies can be developed encouraging inner-city clustering as the advantages of these locations are discussed throughout the thesis. On the other hand it is important to note that the ongoing decentralisation process in Istanbul and an incipient tendency in Soho for companies to move out of Soho indicate that it might also be possible for creative companies to locate in peripheral locations. The foregoing analysis of the assets of inner-city locations can guide or give an idea of the development of these new locations, in the case of an urban policy.

The findings indicate that both organic approaches and the policy-led approaches had an effect on clustering. As explained in Chapter 7, Section 2, the right scale of urban intervention is needed to sustain the creative assets of inner-city locations, which is also related to the balance between these two approaches. Supporting Turok's (2004) and Tallon's (2010) arguments, both approaches can be part of the urban development strategies for cluster developments in particular, ensuring the interactivity and fluidity between the actors, managing and supporting the existing potentials through different design/development frameworks. In this context, it could

be suggested that urban design provides a link between these two approaches, thus ensuring that policy-led approaches complement the organic dynamics of the place.

LIMITATIONS AND SHORTCOMINGS OF THE METHODOLOGY

The relevant evaluation of each research technique is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.3.3. However, a self-critical evaluation of this cross-national case study approach is necessary to highlight the weaknesses of this research. This evaluation is needed to review the application of the whole methodology in parallel with the findings of the research, in particular evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the cross-national research. In this context the shortcomings of the methodology can be summarised as the application of a mixed method, particularly regarding the cross-national approach of the study and the weaknesses of the quantitative part of the research arising from the sampling strategy, sampling size and also the use of the online survey tools. In the following part, the strengths and the weaknesses of cross-national research are briefly evaluated.

Cross-national Research

The research raised the issues, and discussed and compared the findings, regarding the different factors and conditions affecting clustering. As well as the benefits of cross-national research, some problems were encountered in analysing the responses, transferring and comparing the results. Hence, as Hantrais and Mangen (1996:10) claimed, it is important to develop a self-criticism “to be alerted to cultural differences, not to ignore the discrepancies and to be explicit about the nature of the data and their limitations” in order to minimise the biases that could emerge from the differences in socio-cultural settings.

This cross-national research is important in terms of offering different insights and viewpoints about the phenomenon and in developing a critical discussion, as Hantrais and Mangen (1996) also suggested. The benefits gained from this cross-national study include a deeper understanding of Soho and Beyoglu in terms of identifying, analysing and exploring the similarities and differences related to clustering, which contributes to understanding the different forms, typologies, scales and processes of clustering. As

discussed before, clustering could be in the form of agglomerations within dense inner quarters all accumulated in close proximity around the main squares and streets (i.e. Soho) or, as in the case of Beyoglu, it could be located in different parts comprising smaller units (i.e. creative hot-spots in Beyoglu).

This cross-national research helped to generate a deeper and richer understanding of the place-making processes and the quality of place in Soho and Beyoglu in relation to clustering. In this context the study revealed the similarities in cluster formation as both clusters were initially formed along one narrow street and without any strategic policy intervention. One of the findings of the research is that it is the socio-cultural settings which are important in forming and perpetuating the clusters, not just the place-based factors such as the place-making initiatives and quality of place. Although the clusters emerged organically, the sustainability of the clusters appears to be different in Soho and Beyoglu and this is also related to the place-making processes and socio-cultural setting.

This cross-national study provided fresh, new insights of clustering and introduced the different perspectives of clustering and its relationship between place-making initiatives and quality of place in different socio-cultural contexts. The contextual differences pointed out the different perspectives of the same phenomenon, which were not suggested previously in the context of this research (e.g. the role of café culture, pedestrianisation, sex industry, street management, community involvement, land ownership and so on).

In addition to these benefits, some problems were encountered in terms of the collection and analysis of the data regarding the comparability and the transferability of the data across different countries. Another problem was related to the linguistic issues (Masser, 1984). When translating the questionnaire and interview questions from English to Turkish, some linguistic challenges were encountered in terms of providing the conceptual links, using the research parameters and typologies, transcribing the interview material, which was originally set out in English, and communicating the research parameters to the participants when conducting the interviews in Turkey.

The third problem encountered was the application of the *mixed method* approach to this cross-national research which doubled the difficulties, as a cross-national research is by its very nature more demanding compared to the domestic, single-national research study (Hantrais and Mangen, 1996; Masser, 1984; Williams, 1984).

The problems experienced from the application of a mixed method strategy include the design and application of the questionnaires to complement the qualitative element of the study, sampling strategy, the use of the online survey tool and the sampling size of the questionnaires. An *online survey* (i.e. Survey Monkey) was adopted considering the cross-national nature of the study in terms of providing a standard technique towards data collection. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, online survey tools have potential problems towards the homogenisation of the responses. As for the *sampling size*, the number of the questionnaires is not sufficient to provide a truly representative sample of the population and to develop a statistical analysis. These issues and the acknowledgement of the limitations are explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Based on these reasons *the quantitative part* of the research is not very strong. The aim of the questionnaires was to generate complementary data to those collected from the interviews, in order to see which of the issues raised by the interviewees are relevant to the discussion. In this context, the survey gives an indication of the attitudes and opinions of both individuals and companies in Soho and Beyoglu. On the other hand, as the aim of the research was to explore the issues affecting the formation and sustainability of the clusters, *the qualitative part* of the research served this purpose well through various different qualitative types of the interviews, cluster and cognitive maps and observations. Hence the qualitative component of the research is stronger than the quantitative part and helped the researcher to accomplish the stated research aims.

The quantitative part of this research followed the qualitative part of the cross-national research; however this did not appear to be a very efficient method, particularly when the study is cross-national and single-person administered, as is the case here. Instead of applying the quantitative method which needs extensive preparation (e.g. preparation of questionnaires, translating the material into Turkish,

contacting the participants, collecting the information and analysing the surveys) just focusing on the in-depth qualitative part of the study and enhancing it, could have been a more efficient, pragmatic and easier approach especially when time and resources are limited.

Due to the difficulties experienced regarding the cross-national approach and mixed method, this research suggests applying a single research method (either qualitative or quantitative), particularly when conducting a case study in two different countries. On the other hand it is important to emphasise that even though a single method may be used, it is absolutely necessary to combine several research techniques to understand the complexities of urban life such as interviews, observations, focus groups, mapping and visual recording, or the *urban experience* (Jacobs, 1961).

Despite the difficulties and pitfalls of this interdisciplinary and cross-national research, this research suggests that cross-national research is needed in the networked/connected world to be able to explore the phenomenon in different contexts, especially when the subject matter is also related to the socio-cultural settings. In addition, urban design should involve all related disciplines; hence it should be interdisciplinary in order to address the growing parallel interests of the research fields regarding the built environment. In terms of the comparison design, as Williams (1984) suggested, this research adopted a *two-directional non-comparative evaluation*, which helped to derive lessons from both cases and stimulated discussion on the dynamics, factors, processes and spatial scales affecting the clustering.

Case Study Selection

The two-directional non-comparative evaluation of the cases and the research findings highlighted the need to emphasise the differences in the size and scale of both cases. Soho is a small neighbourhood contained within an area of one square mile and located in the West-end ward whereas Beyoglu is a district in Istanbul with a surface area of nine square kilometres. Hence the differences in spatial scale might have affected the formation and sustainability of the critical mass, which is highlighted as the main factor for cluster formation. As Hantrais and Mangen (1996) suggested, the research “looked at sub-societal units” (i.e. the creative hotspots in Beyoglu) rather

than the whole district (i.e. Beyoglu) which helped to develop an understanding of the factors affecting the creative clustering in different spatial scales.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH

After summarising the findings, possible practical implications of the research and the shortcomings of the methodology, it is important to review the theories applied to this research. As presented so far, this research explored the theories related to creative city, creative clusters and place-making by applying the city-level theories to neighbourhood-level aspects. Although creativity and its relationships to changing socio-economic conditions and urban place (i.e. creative/knowledge economy, the creative city, creative industries, creative class, creative clusters) have been extensively studied in city-level theories in geography, economics and urban studies, particularly in the past decade, the spatiality of creativity and creative clusters has remained relatively unexplored at micro-levels, in neighbourhood-level studies. In this work, the relationships between creative clusters and spatial conditions (i.e. the quality of place) and factors (i.e. place-making) have been presented and discussed in detail based on the data gathered from the analysis of two neighbourhoods/districts and linking them with place-making theories of urban design.

Knowledge economy is suggested as the new phenomenon describing the changing conditions of the twenty-first century and hence leading to a knowledge-based urban development (Yigitcanlar et al., 2008b). As Madanipour (2011) suggested, though, it is a motto rather than explaining the actual socio-spatial and economic conditions. In addition, the film industry is not a new twenty-first-century phenomenon; the emergence of the industry started at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, driven by spatial clustering dynamics. Its spatial conditions have also not changed much as the original locations (i.e. Soho and Beyoglu) continue to function as the locations of the film clusters; with some changes in *cluster-specific dynamics* (Van Den Berg et al., 2001) and spatial conditions. What remains the same is the need for the face to face interactions provided at the intersections of localised clusters and spatial conditions.

Is the/a Creative City Possible?

This research suggests that *creative activities, industries and people* (Florida 2002; Landry, 2000) has the potential to bring a new dimension to the design and planning of cities. However, the relationship between creative activities and urban place might not be as straightforward as the simplistic idea of *the creative city* as Pratt (2000) also critiqued. Rather it proposes that cities have the potential to inspire people as they have always been the birthplaces of new ideas and buildings, and urban places contribute to this inspiration. In addition, creative activities and its relation to urban place is not a novel idea. What is new in this debate is the idea that this link between urban place and creative activities can be harnessed and improved through urban policies and design strategies. This research has attempted to explore this link and present some conclusions and recommendations as discussed above.

The results derived from the case studies noted that film people especially are inspired by urban living in particular, complexity, chaos, contradictions and conflicts, which was highlighted as one of the main sources of creativity, particularly in Beyoglu. Hence conflicting environments can also be huge beds for creativity: not only tolerant societies as Florida (2002) suggested. These contradictions suggest that Florida's '3 Ts' theory might not be relevant for every context as creativity can be also embedded in conflicting environments. In addition, it is not just a place-based factor as tolerance could also be related to the socio-cultural context of the country.

As discussed previously, the theory attracted much criticism. Pratt (2008b: 108) was one of these critics who suggested that: "The '3 Ts' do not make creativity, creative cities or workers; they are simply posited as factors of attraction (or proxies of them)". Although the theory might contribute to the clustering of creatives, however the '3 Ts' alone are not the most significant characteristics that make cities creative as Florida (2002) suggested.

Quality of Place

In particular this research has identified the key spatial conditions of creative clusters. These findings are summarised throughout Chapter 7, and in particular in Table 7.12 on page 313, which presented the *Morphological Analysis Framework for the Quality*

of Place of Inner-city Creative Clusters. These factors explained in the analysis framework should not be taken as a checklist in the design process; rather they indicate how inner-city creative clusters work in the cases of Soho and Beyoglu. Based on these findings it is argued that if urban design needs to take account of these assets, it is possible to support creative clusters; and it is also argued that the analysis framework could guide the planning and design process of new districts that aim to accommodate film/creative industry clusters whether in the inner city or on the periphery.

It is the complexity of the context that makes the creative environments which contribute to inspiration and also clustering. In addition, it is the combination of the spatial characteristics/conditions and the processes that make the overall context; the quality of place. At this point, Florida's (2002) quality of place lacks an explanation for the complexity of these different aspects as it just focuses on the characteristics of cities that attract and retain creative activities and people and does not discuss the place-making processes and how these affect the qualities associated with place.

Every aspect, the people, the buildings and spaces, the uses and the activities and the processes, contribute to the complexity of the urban place. This is perhaps why Carmona et al. (2003) suggested that a holistic approach to urban design and urban planning is needed. These different layers - the indicators of creativity - are outlined in Chapter 7, Table 7.11. As Csikzentmihalyi (1996) also posited, creativity emerges from a complex, dynamic, interaction process that incorporates the spatial environment. This research suggests that capturing this complexity and ensuring its sustainability through urban policies or intervention initiatives could be the main consideration for future developments, if creativity is to be one of the considerations of urban design and also planning.

Is Quality of Place different for firms and creative workers?

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are several approaches to defining the quality of creative places. These approaches focus on creative individuals (artist-oriented approach/ occupational approach) or on the companies (firm-oriented approach/Industry approach) (Brown and Meczynski, 2009; Marcusen, 2006; Smit,

2011). The case study methodology in this research was also informed by these two approaches. However, opposing these sharp distinctions, the findings of this research suggest that it is not that straightforward to categorise the results in this way because in fact they overlap and interact. For example, when making a location decision, a company manager or owner considers the social infrastructure that creative workers need and like. As Markusen (2004) and Turok (2004) suggested, complementary policies should be developed concerning the needs of both creative people and companies rather than developing policies just aimed at companies. So, instead of having two different approaches, a holistic approach towards understanding quality of place is needed, based on both company needs and the social infrastructure which retains a creative workforce. In addition, at the macro-scale, Florida's (2002) suggestion that *companies follow talented people* needs to be amended. This research's findings suggest that the companies do not just follow creative workers; rather they prefer the locations where the workers are happy to work.

This research explored the city-level theories linking with place-making theories in urban design as there has been an increasing recognition in recent years of the need for research that links macro and micro-level dimensions (Brown and Meczynski, 2009; Van den Berg et al., 2001; Trip, 2007). Hence the research has contributed to the existing body of knowledge by exploring the spatiality of creativity and clustering with the data gathered from Soho and Beyoglu. In addition, it developed an understanding of the characteristics of urban places that enhance creativity of individuals and also companies. This is a new perspective in urban design as there is little evidence exploring the spatiality of creative clusters relating to the city-level theories described within this thesis. In this sense the findings of this research bring a new dimension to the place-making literature as well as to the creativity and clustering debate comprising several different disciplines. The thesis has also explained why place/location is still important in the creative/knowledge economy and the role of urban design in forming the places where creativity can flourish.

The main aim of this research was to provide answers to the dilemmas introduced within the literature review. The relevant findings were discussed throughout this thesis. In addition to these detailed site-specific investigations, one point also emerged

which is possible to generalise. The findings discussed suggest that rather than choosing one single solution, different factors tend to overlap and the answers to the research questions can actually be derived from the conflicting aspects of the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore it is also possible to generalise, as Carmona et al. (2003) suggested, that rather than having 'yes or no answers' or choosing 'one over the other', the urban-related research is about overlapping the triads or merging the contradictions. This also might lead to a holistic approach to design, whether architectural or urban, converging the spatial necessities of complexity which might be a different set of spatial conditions for any locality.

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APPENDIX 1 QUESTIONNAIRES

QUESTIONNAIRE: Soho, Creativity and Urban Place

This questionnaire explores Soho, its creative environment, architecture and its development process. This research is undertaken by Bahar Durmaz, a PhD candidate at the Department of Built Environment, University of Nottingham. Answering this questionnaire will take generally from five to ten minutes. It aims to get the understanding of people about Soho especially those who live and work in Soho. All the data collected through the questionnaire will be used for research purposes only. Thank you very much for your participation!

[For any information, please contact Bahar Durmaz on: laxsbd@nottingham.ac.uk or 0778 915 01 25]

- 1. What is your occupation? How long have you been working/living in Soho?**
If you are a resident and/or community association member please indicate below.

- 2. How influential these characteristics of Soho are on your location decision? Please rate**

Very important	Important	Uncertain	Not important	No answer	
5	4	3	2	1	
Physical (Functional, visual, street network)	5	4	3	2	1
Social (Community, social interaction, tolerance)	5	4	3	2	1
Cultural (Events, festivals, leisure/entertainment)	5	4	3	2	1
Economic (Job opportunity, land values, clusters)	5	4	3	2	1
Perceptual (Image, safety, attachment, authenticity)	5	4	3	2	1
Environmental (Climatic comfort, soundscape, lighting)	5	4	3	2	1
Personal (education, career, partner, friends...)	5	4	3	2	1

Other (please specify)

- 3. What do you like about Soho? Please select one from each of the categories below**

Functional	Street Network	Visual	Social	Cultural	Economic
A.Diversity	A.Easy to find way	A.Built heritage	A.Cosmopolitan	A.Events/festivals	A. Talent
B.Proximity/Centrality	B.Easy to walk through	B.Innovative Arch.	B.Tolerance	B.Cultural venues	B.Job/Employment
C.Density	C.Niches/Alleys/Courtyar	C.Streetscape	C.Creative people	C.24/7 city	C.Property/Land Values
D.Publicity	D.Enclosure	D.Aesthetic quality	D.Social interaction	D.Entertainment	D.Clusters of Creative Ind.
E.Greenness	E.Accessibility	E.Landmarks	E.Village Atmosphere	E.Public Art	E.Technology-Networks
F.None	F.None	F.None	F.None	F.None	F.None

Other (please specify)

- 4. What DON'T you like about Soho? Please tick those that are appropriate**

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Diversity | <input type="checkbox"/> High rents | <input type="checkbox"/> Tourists |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Congestion | <input type="checkbox"/> Chaos | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing (I like everything about Soho) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Narrow streets/parking | <input type="checkbox"/> Pornography | <input type="checkbox"/> I prefer not to answer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Crossrail, construction work and etc | <input type="checkbox"/> Feeling unsafe | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insufficient power supply | <input type="checkbox"/> Noise | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insufficient office space | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirt | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Poor quality buildings | <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol consumption | |

5. Is there any plan to change your location in the next few years? If yes where to? Why?

6. Does Soho have a creative environment? If so, what particularly stimulates your ideas in Soho? Please tick those that are appropriate

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> YES, IT HAS | <input type="checkbox"/> Innovative Design | <input type="checkbox"/> NO, IT HAS NOT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> People/Creative community | <input type="checkbox"/> Theatres/Shows/Music Scene | <input type="checkbox"/> Anything, anytime |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Buildings/urban spaces | <input type="checkbox"/> Events/Festivals | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing inspires me in Soho |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Built heritage/history | <input type="checkbox"/> Cafe Culture | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (please specify) |

7. In your opinion; which of them best describes the transformation of Soho? Please ALSO indicate in what ways do you think it is changing by ticking those that are appropriate

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> SAME | <input type="checkbox"/> CHANGING | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (Please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> UPGRADING | <input type="checkbox"/> DECLINING | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Safer | <input type="checkbox"/> Dangerous | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Distinctive | <input type="checkbox"/> Uncharacteristic | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Diverse/Cosmopolitan | <input type="checkbox"/> Homogenized | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bohemian | <input type="checkbox"/> Posh | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Quite | <input type="checkbox"/> Noisy | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cleaner | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirtier | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Seedy | <input type="checkbox"/> Sanitized | |

8. In your opinion, what is influential in this change? Please tick those that are appropriate

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Architecture/Planning: New Developments | <input type="checkbox"/> Police Control | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Projects of Westminster City Council | <input type="checkbox"/> Film Industry (or other creative industries) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Community Involvement | <input type="checkbox"/> Artists | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Resident Associations | <input type="checkbox"/> Cafe Culture | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Technology (supportive) | <input type="checkbox"/> Film/Music Scene/Theatres | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Technology (disruptive) | <input type="checkbox"/> None | |

9. In your opinion; is the number of the offices in relation to film industry/creative industry in Soho...?

- ☐ Increasing? ☐ Same? ☐ Reducing? ☐ I am not sure ☐ Other (please specify)

10. Please add any other comments or observations that you feel may benefit the research; especially, if there is anything related to the general atmosphere of Soho and any suggestions to make Soho a better place.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

This survey will be confidential; however, it may be helpful to have your details in case any points need clarifying.

Name of the participant:

Name of the business/community associations:

Telephone/Address:

Email:

This questionnaire structure was used for the Beyoglu case but translated into Turkish.

APPENDIX 1-A

Determining the Target Size (Israel, 2009)

Table 1.

>100,000	1,111	400	204	100
a = Assumption of normal population is poor (Yamane, 1967). The entire population should be sampled.				

Table 2.

Table 2. Sample size for $\pm 5\%$, $\pm 7\%$ and $\pm 10\%$ Precision Levels Where Confidence Level is 95% and $P=.5$.				
Size of	Sample Size (n) for Precision (e) of:			
Population	$\pm 5\%$	$\pm 7\%$	$\pm 10\%$	
100	81	67	51	
125	96	78	56	
150	110	86	61	
175	122	94	64	
200	134	101	67	
225	144	107	70	
250	154	112	72	
275	163	117	74	
300	172	121	76	
325	180	125	77	
350	187	129	78	
375	194	132	80	
400	201	135	81	

Table 1. Sample size for $\pm 3\%$, $\pm 5\%$, $\pm 7\%$ and $\pm 10\%$ Precision Levels Where Confidence Level is 95% and $P=.5$.

Size of	Sample Size (n) for Precision (e) of:			
Population	$\pm 3\%$	$\pm 5\%$	$\pm 7\%$	$\pm 10\%$
500	a	222	145	83
600	a	240	152	86
700	a	255	158	88
800	a	267	163	89
900	a	277	166	90
1,000	a	286	169	91
2,000	714	333	185	95
3,000	811	353	191	97
4,000	870	364	194	98
5,000	909	370	196	98
6,000	938	375	197	98
7,000	959	378	198	99
8,000	976	381	199	99
9,000	989	383	200	99
10,000	1,000	385	200	99
15,000	1,034	390	201	99

APPENDIX 2 STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Question 1: Profile of the respondents

This question aims to understand the profile and the occupations of the participants. Same question structure is used for all three groups which are the film people (Group 1), residents (Group 2) and the businesses (Group 3). For the group 1 the question is posed as: *“What company do you work for? When did the company move in/out Soho?”* and for group 2 and 3 the question is posed as *“What is your occupation? How long have you been working/living in Soho? If you are a resident and/or community association member please indicate below.*

Question 2: Location Decision

Question 2 which is a rating scale question is about understanding the factors on their location decision. It also aims to find out the importance of physical qualities of urban place within other factors such as social, cultural, economic, perceptual, and environmental and also other personal reasons. This question is posed as: *“How influential these characteristics of Soho are on your location decision? Please rate”*. It aims to get their priority of preferences when they take location decision.

Question 3: Quality of Place

Question 3 aims to understand which characteristics of urban place they value. It is a matrix of choices-matrix of drop-down style question. In question 2, it is aimed to rate the importance of physical qualities within other factors and the main characteristics that they think is important for them. The question is posed as *“What do you like about Soho? Please select one from each of the categories below”*. They are asked to choose from the drop-down list whichever is appropriate for them. The categories are grouped as functional, street network, visual, social, cultural and economic attributes.

Question 4: Negative Aspects

Question 4 aims to understand which aspects of Soho are perceived as a negative factor on location decisions. It is asked: *What don't you like about Soho? Please tick those that are appropriate.*

Question 5: Location Change –De-clustering

In order to understand their tendencies for relocation the question is posed as: *Is there any plan to change your location in the next few years? If yes where to? Why?*

Question 6: Creativity

Question 6 aims to explore people's perception about Soho and Creativity. It is posed as: *Does Soho have a creative environment? If so, what particularly stimulates your ideas in Soho? Please tick those that are appropriate.* The answers are divided into two like *Yes, it has* and *No, it has not*. Each section is provided with detailed answers.

Question 7: Urban Change

Question 7 aims to get people's perception about urban change. The question is posed as: *In your opinion; which of them best describes the transformation of Soho? Please ALSO indicate in what ways do you think it is changing by ticking those that are appropriate”*. The answers are grouped as *same, upgrading, changing and declining*. The respondents are asked to choose from the options indicating in which way it is changing.

Question 8: Factors of Change

In order to understand the factors and the actors of this change, the question is posed as: *In your opinion, what is influential in this change? Please tick those that are appropriate.*

Question 9: Number of Film Companies

Question 9 aims to understand the public awareness related to the existence the film industry and its relation with Soho.

Question 10: Better Soho This question is an open question asking their general comments and observations about Soho.

APPENDIX 3-A: INTERVIEW OUTLINE-KEY INFORMANTS

June, 2010

PHD INTERVIEWS: FILM INDUSTRY IN SOHO & URBAN PLACE



Interviewee

Name:

Position:

Profession:

Address:

Telephone:

Aim

This interview aims to explore the issues related to Soho's creative environment, its surrounding architecture and the film industry clusters concentrated in Soho. It is the empirical part of a doctoral research conducted in the Department of Architecture which is funded by the University of Nottingham. It is important to understand the contribution of planning and design projects to improve its urban environment. Besides, exploring the role of creative industries in this shift and the strategies to cluster and accommodate them in Soho constitutes the important part of the research. This interview generally aims to understand the relation between the film industry and Soho and factors of location decision. It would be very helpful to talk about the regeneration process of Soho, the projects related to accommodate the film industry. More in detail I would like to talk about these issues mentioned below.

Themes / Agenda

Regeneration process of Soho

Management: The planning and design process in terms of participation and partnership

Intervention: The need for planning /design; their role in forming a better Soho?

The importance of the urban design and planning projects like Soho Conservation Audit, Soho Action Plan, Retrofitting Soho Project, and Westminster Creative Industries Report; to what extent the projects are implemented and helped Soho? Ham yard and Berwick Street Projects, Marshall Street Leisure Centre

Urban Change: Soho's past and present

Quality of Place: What kinds of urban design/planning objectives guided the Soho Action Plan?

Networks

Global: Infrastructure, transportation, relation with other cities & countries

Local: Network of clusters, relation with other neighbourhoods like Camden, Shoreditch and etc.?

Creativity

The Film Industry

New Developments, innovative architecture

Creativity, urban environment and clusters: level of control, order, complexity; to what extent, investments in creativity

APPENDIX 3-B: INTERVIEW OUTLINE- FILM PEOPLE

June, 2010

PHD INTERVIEWS: FILM INDUSTRY IN SOHO & URBAN SPACE



This interview aims to explore the issues related to Soho's creative environment, its surrounding architecture and the film industry clusters concentrated in Soho. It is the empirical part of a doctoral research conducted in the Department of Architecture and funded by the University of Nottingham.

Company:

Name:

Sector:

Date of Foundation:

Interviewee

Name:

Position in the company:

Age:

-
1. How many people does the company employ, at what locations? Which units do you have?
 2. How many films /videos are produced monthly/annually?
 3. How long the company been located here? Where was the previous location?
 4. Why did you choose to locate the company here? What do you look for in locating the company?
 5. What is good environment for you?
 6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of being in Soho? Are there any problems?
 7. Is there any plan to change the location of the company? Why? Where about?
 8. Which do you prefer – to locate in inner city or in so-called purpose built creative districts?
 9. What do you like about Soho? Can you define Soho with several words?
 10. What are the most important things about Soho that you would want to change?
 11. Do you have favourite places, buildings, streets in Soho? If yes, what are they, what makes them your favourite?
 12. Do you have links with other companies locating in Soho, around London, UK or abroad?
 13. Do you make online films? Do you use SOHONET or etc.?
 14. What are the advantages & disadvantages of technology? How crucial is face-to-face contact?
 15. Does being in Soho stimulate your ideas or inspire you? What makes you feel so

APPENDIX 4-A: SOHO DATABASE

In total, there are 31 pages comprising the whole Soho and Noho companies.

LOCATION	ID	NAME OF THE COMPANY	ADDRESS	POSTCODE	COMPANY TYPE	PRODUCT	SET UP DATE	DATE (MOVE INTO SOHO)	EMPLOYEES BAND	LINKS	TELEPHONE	CONTACT NAME	CONTACT TYPE
SOHO	1	Green Screen Soho	Archer Street, 2	W1D	MIXED	na	2001-2011	2001-2011	na	na	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	EMAIL
SOHO	2	Media Junction Ad Services Ltd	Archer Street, 2	W1D	MIXED	COMMERCIAL, TV PROG, FILMS	1991-2000	2001-2011	C	NO	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	EMAIL
SOHO	3	Knucklehead	Archer Street, Unit 22-23, Archer Street Studios 10-14	W1D	PRODUCTION	commercial music digital	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	4	Hackenbacker Audio Post	Bateman Street, 10	W1D	POST PRODUCTION	FILM/TV	1991-2000	1991-2000	C	na	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE
SOHO	5	Bird Studios	Bateman Street, 13-15	W1D	PRODUCTION	na	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	6	Derek Williams Film Editors Ltd	Bateman Street, 15	W1D	POST PRODUCTION	Promos Video	BEFORE 1980	NA	B	na	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE
SOHO	7	Halvon	Bateman Street, 3-5 Unit 2	W1D	PRODUCTION	Documentary Production	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	8	THE CREATIVE PARTNERSHIP	BATEMAN, 13	W1D	POST PRODUCTION	film	1991-2000	1991-2000	E	YES	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE
SOHO	9	SMOKE AND MIRRORS	BEAK 57-58	W1F	PRODUCTION	ADV/FILM/MUSIC VIDEO	1991-2000	NA	F	YES	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE
SOHO	10	Gallowgate Productions	Beak Street, 1st Floor, 18-18	W1F	PRODUCTION	na	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	11	FireHouse Productions	Beak Street, 25	W1F	PRODUCTION	Production Member of	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	12	The Bare	Beak Street, 40	W1F	PRODUCTION	commercial-tv	1991-2000	1991-2000	B	NO	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE
SOHO	13	Seafood Media	Beak Street, 40, Unit 3	W1F	PRODUCTION	na	NA	NA	na	na	na	na	NA
SOHO	14	Studio Lambert	Beak Street, 42	W1F	PRODUCTION	Documentary Tv	BEFORE 1980	BEFORE 1980	na	na	na	na	WEB PAGE
SOHO	15	Black Dog Films LTD	Beak Street, 42-44	W1F	MIXED	music promo	BEFORE 1980	NA	D	YES	on the hardcopy	on the hardcopy	TELEPHONE

APPENDIX 4-B BEYOGLU DATABASE

In total, there are 10 pages comprising the whole companies located in Beyoğlu.

ID	NAME OF THE COMPANY	ADDRESS	Address Code	TYPE	PRODUCT	DATE	DATE BEYOGLU	SCALE	LINKS	WEBPAGE	CONTACT METHOD
1	PTT FILM	Asmalı Mescit Cad. Minare Sok. No:19/A	2nd Area	Production	Commercial	1999	1999	20	yes	yes	Email/SIM
2	Senalpsan	Asmalı Mescit Sok. Çiçek Han No:11 D:1	2nd Area	Production	Commercial	NA	NA	NA	NA	yes	Email
3	Yalan Dünya Ltd	Asmalı Mescit Mah. Sofyalı sok. İliç İşhanı 18-18 Tünel Beyoğlu, İstanbul	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA
4	Bizzat Film	Asmalı Mescit Sok. 13/14-A Beyoğlu İstanbul	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	yes	NA
5	AC Film	Asmalı Mescit Sok. Mesrutiyet Caddesi, No:35, Ravanda İş merkezi, D3. Beyoğlu	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA
6	Kat Produksiyon	Asmalı Mescit Sok. No:26 K:3,	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA
7	101 Film Yapım	Asmalı Mescit, Kumbaracı Yokuşu No:51/A	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA
8	Pi Film Produksiyon	Asmalı Mescit, Kumbaracı Yokuşu Tercüman Çıkması No: 16 Kat: 1 Daire:	2nd Area	Mixed	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	construction	Email
9	Ustaoglu Film Yapım	Asmalı Mescit, Nergis Sokak, Mahallesi, No:8/7, K:2	2nd Area	Production	film	2003	2003	3	yes	yes	Web
11	Telesine	Asmalı Mescit, Tepebaşı Cad. No:28	2nd Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	yes	Email
12	Ajans Sos	Asmalı Mescit, Tepebaşı Cad. No:28	2nd Area	Production	commercial	NA	NA	NA	NA	construction	NA
13	Can Film	Ayhan Işık Sk. Girik Han No:28/4 Beyoğlu-İst	1st Area	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA
14	Emek Film	Ayhan Işık Sk. Girik Han No:28/4	1st	Production	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	no	NA

APPENDIX 5A: INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTER

laxsbd@nottingham.ac.uk

0115 846 7260

The University of Nottingham,
Faculty of Engineering
Department of Architecture and Built Environment
University Park, Nottingham, NG7 2RD

E: laxsbd@nottingham.ac.uk

T: 0 115 846 7260

F 0 115 951 3159

M: 0 778 915 0125

18 May 2010

Dear Sir/Madam

Re: Request for interview pertaining to research based on Soho

I am writing you to get in touch with your company and to ask your permission to conduct an interview. I'd like to come and talk to you about Soho and its relationship with film industry.

I am 2nd year PhD researcher in architecture in the Department of Architecture at The University of Nottingham. My thesis is about creative industries, in particular the film industry and its relation to urban space and architecture. I am planning to conduct a survey in Soho with film industry companies, focusing on being located in Soho.

The interview is mainly about questioning the advantages and disadvantages of Soho in terms of helping creativity and innovation, its effect of film companies' location choice, and the social, cultural and spatial needs of people/companies working in film industry. I appreciate that you are busy, so I'll only ask for half an hour of your time. When may I come in for an interview? Is the last week of May a possibility? I would be happy to send you a list of the questions before the meeting.

I will telephone you in the next few days to try to arrange an appointment.

Many thanks for your help

Yours faithfully,

Bahar Durmaz
PhD Researcher in Architecture

APPENDIX 6: INTERVIEW COVER LETTER



APPENDIX 7-A: LIST OF THE INTERVIEWEES- SOHO

FILM PEOPLE

INTERVIEWS WITH FILM PEOPLE (SOHO)

INTERVIEWEE		COMPANY		INTERVIEWS			
ID	PROFESSION	COMPANY NAME	TYPE	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION	DURATION
Int-S1	LIBRARY ASSISTANT	LOCATION WORKS	PRODUCTION-LOCATION MANAGER	2003, MARCH	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	21 MINUTES
Int-S2	EXECUTIVE PRODUCER	STREET LIGHTS	PRODUCTION	2003, MARCH	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	22 MINUTES
Int-S3	SOUND DESIGNER	FREELANCE	POSTPRODUCTION	2003, MARCH	STREET INTERVIEW	CAFE	30 MINUTES
Int-S6	OWNER/MANAGER	DANDY TV	PRODUCTION-CARTOON	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	CAFE	40 MINUTES
Int-S7	EXECUTIVE MANAGER	LIPSYNC POST	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	35 MINUTES
Int-S8	EXECUTIVE MANAGER	RAINDANCE	PRODUCTION-FESTIVAL	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	30 MINUTES
Int-S9	CHIEF TECHNICAL OFFICER	SOHONET	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	25 MINUTES
Int-S11	MANAGER	CHILIBEAN	DISTRIBUTION-DIGITAL ASSET MANAGEMENT	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	25 MINUTES
Int-S12	EXECUTIVE PRODUCER	LOOSE-MOOSE	PRODUCTION-ANIMATION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	37 MINUTES
Int-S13	EXECUTIVE PRODUCER	BASEBLACK	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	NOHO-OFFICE	50 MINUTES
Int-S14	EXECUTIVE PRODUCER	LOLA POST	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	NOHO-OFFICE	43 MINUTES
Int-S15	SOUND DESIGNER/PROJECT MANAGER	DELUXE	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	NOHO-CAFE	45 MINUTES
Int-S17	MANAGER	SOHO LAB	POST-PRODUCTION	2010, AUGUST	SCHEDULED/ FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	37 MINUTES

APPENDIX 7-A LIST OF THE INTERVIEWEES: SOHO

TELEPHONE AND STREET INTERVIEWS (Only the ones who are directly quoted)

STREET/TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS (SOHO)

INTERVIEWEE		COMPANY		CONTACT TYPE			
ID	PROFESSION	COMPANY NAME	TYPE	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION	DURATION
Int-S26	PERSONAL ASSISTANT	PATHE	MEDIA/NEWS	APRIL, 2011	TELEPHONE INTERVIEW	NOTTINGHAM	10 MINUTES
Int-S27	RUNNER	2AM	PRODUCTION	APRIL, 2011	TELEPHONE INTERVIEW	NOTTINGHAM	5 MINUTES
Int-S28	RUNNER	FINISH	POST PRODUCTION	APRIL, 2011	TELEPHONE INTERVIEW	NOTTINGHAM	7 MINUTES
Int-S29	GRAPHIC DESIGNER	AKA	GRAPHIC DESIGN	AUGUST, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	ST ANNE GARDEN	5 MINUTES
Int-S30	MANAGING DIRECTOR	MAY FLOWER	PRODUCTION-SOUND	APRIL, 2011	EMAIL SURVEY	NOTTINGHAM	
Int-S31	ASISTANT	UNITED AGENTS	PRODUCTION	APRIL, 2011	TELEPHONE INTERVIEW	NOTTINGHAM	8 MINUTES
Int-S32	EDITOR	STANLEY PRODUCTIONS	MIXED	APRIL, 2011	TELEPHONE INTERVIEW	NOTTINGHAM	3 MINUTES
Int-S33	EDITOR	CINESITE	POST PRODUCTION	AUGUST, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	SHERATON STREET	10 MINUTES
Int-S34	BOOKSHOP ASSISTANT	SOHOBOOKS	BOOKSHOP	MARCH, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	SOHO BOOKS	5 MINUTES
Int-S35	PHOTOGRAPHER	PHOTOGRAPHERS GALLERY	ART GALLERY	AUGUST, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	CAFÉ	15 MINUTES
Int-S36	FILMMAKER	(MOLINARE AND SOHO	POST PRODUCTION	APRIL, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	SOHO SQUARE	10 MINUTES
Int-S37	EDITOR	GOLDCREST	POST PRODUCTION	APRIL, 2011	STREET INTERVIEW	GREEK STREET	20 MINUTES
Int-S38	MUSICIAN-PUNK SINGER	(MOLINARE AND SOHO	PERFORMANCE	JUNE, 2010	STREET INTERVIEW	DARBLAY STREET	10 MINUTES
Int-S39	DISPATCH ASSISTANT	LIPSYNC POST	POST PRODUCTION	AUGUST, 2010	EMAIL SURVEY	NOTTINGHAM	

APPENDIX 7-A LIST OF THE INTERVIEWEES: SOHO

KEY INFORMANTS

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS (SOHO)

INTERVIEWEE			INTERVIEW DETAILS			
ID	PROFESSION	NAME OF THE ORGANISATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION	DURATION
Int-S4	PROJECT MANAGER, RESIDENT, MUSICIAN	WEST END TIME BANK AND SOHO SOCIETY	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFE	60 MINUTES
Int-S5	MEMBER	SOHO MUSEUM	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	SOHO SOCIETY	60 MINUTES
Int-S10	ECONOMIC	WESTMINISTER CITY COUNCIL	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	WESTMINISTER CITY	27 MINUTES
Int-S16	COORDINATOR	KAIROS IN SOHO	2010, JUNE	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	45 MINUTES
Int-S19	MANAGER/PARTNER	SHAFTESBURY PLC	2010, AUGUST	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	45 MINUTES
Int-S20	MANAGER	SOHO HOUSING ASSOCIATION	2010, SEPTEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	46 MINUTES
Int-S21	FOUNDER OF THE ASSOCIATIONS	THE SOHO SOCIETY AND SOHO HOUSING ASSOCIATION	2010, SEPTEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	HOME	4.20 HOURS AND 1.40
Int-S22	MANAGER/PARTNER	SHAFTESBURY PLC	2010, SEPTEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	43 MINUTES
Int-S23	CHAIR	SOHO MUSEUM	2010, OCTOBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	HOME	60 MINUTES
Int-S24	DEVELOPMENT MANAGER	THE CROWN ESTATE	2010, OCTOBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFFICE	60 MINUTES
Int-S25	SOHO SOCIETY PLANNING GROUP CHAIR	THE SOHO SOCIETY AND SOHO HOUSING ASSOCIATION	2010, SEPTEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFE	60 MINUTES
Int-S26	TIME BANK MEMBER AND BROKER	WEST END TIME BANK	2010, AUGUST	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFE	60 MINUTES

APPENDIX 7-B LIST OF INTERVIEWS: BEYOGLU

FILM PEOPLE

INTERVIEWS WITH FILM PEOPLE (BEYOGLU)						
INTERVIEWEE		COMPANY		DURATION		
ID	PROFESSION	COMPANY NAME	TYPE	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION
Int-1	DIRECTOR, PRODUCER, SCENERIST	EKS FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ
Int-2	PRODUCER	AFS FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-3	MANAGER, ACCOUNTANT	AVSAR FILM	PRODUCTION/DISTRIBUTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-4	PRODUCER	ARES FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ
Int-5	PRODUCER, MANAGER	BELGE FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ
Int-6	MANAGER, DISTRIBUTOR	OZEN FILM	PRODUCTION/DISTRIBUTION	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-7	MANAGER	BEYOGLU CINEMA AND KARAFILM	PRODUCTION/CINEMA MANAGEMENT	2010, December	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-8	COSTUME PROVIDER	BIZIM FILM	PRODUCTION/COSTUME	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-9	MANAGER	KILIC FILM	POST PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-10	DIRECTOR-PRODUCER	SUGARWORKZ	PRODUCTION/DISTRIBUTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-11	SCENARIST	VENI SINEMACILAR	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-12	DIRECTOR, PRODUCER	SE-SAM	ASSOCIATION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ
Int-13	PRODUCER-ACTOR	Z1	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-14	SOUND DESIGNER	ZOUND	POST PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-15	DIRECTOR, PRODUCER, JOURNALIST, PHOTOGRAPHER	KAZ FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS

APPENDIX 7-B LIST OF INTERVIEWS: BEYOGLU

FILM PEOPLE (CONT.)

INTERVIEWS WITH FILM PEOPLE (BEYOGLU)

ID	PROFESSION	COMPANY NAME	TYPE	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION
Int-16	ACTOR	IRFAN FILM	PRODUCTION/FILM IMPORT	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-17	DIRECTOR, PRODUCER, SCENARIST	EVCI FILM	PRODUCTION/EQUIPMENT RENTING	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-18	PRODUCER-SCENARIST	BUGAY FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ
Int-19	DISTRIBUTOR, LECTURER	ERMAN FILM	DISTRIBUTION/FILM IMPORT	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-20	PROJECTIONIST, SOUND ENGINEER	LALE FILM	POST PRODUCTION/STUDIO/FILM ARCHIVE	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-21	PRODUCER	ASYA FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-22	PRODUCER, DIRECTOR, SCENARIST	EZEL AKAY	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-23	DIRECTOR-MANAGER, POST PRODUCTION SUPERVISOR	MOTION FILMS	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-24	MANAGER	FONO FILM	POST PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-25	MANAGER	TUAL FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, January	TELEPHONE	SKYPE/NOTTINGHAM
Int-26	DIRECTOR-SCENARIST	ASYA FILM	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-27	PRODUCER	YENİ SINEMACILAR	PRODUCTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-28	PRODUCER, MANAGER	AVSAR FILM	PRODUCTION/DISTRIBUTION	2010, January	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-37	EXECUTIVE PRODUCER	ANKA FILM	PRODUCTION	2009, March	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-38	DIRECTOR AND THE SECRETARY OF	ANA FILM	PRODUCTION	2009, March	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS
Int-39	COORDINATOR	AFİTAS	PRODUCTION	2010, December	TELEPHONE	İSTANBUL

APPENDIX 7-B LIST OF INTERVIEWS: BEYOGLU

KEY INFORMANTS

INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS (BEYOGLU)						
ID	INTERVIEWEE		INTERVIEW DETAILS			
	PROFESSION	NAME OF THE ORGANISATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE	LOCATION	DURATION
Int-29	CITY PLANNER	BEYOGLU MUNICIPALITY	2010, DECEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	MUNICIPALITY	30 MINUTES
Int-30	FACILIATOR	CIHANGIR NEIGHBOORHOOD ASSOCIATION	2010, DECEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS	60 MINUTES
Int-31	MUHTAR1	CIHANGIR MAHALLE	2010, DECEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	MUHTAR OFIS	20 MINUTES
Int-32	MUHTAR 2	KILIC ALI PASA MAHALLE	2010, DECEMBER	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	MUHTAR OFIS	15 MINUTES
Int-33	ACADEMICIN AND A LONG-LASTING RESIDENT AND THE ORGANIZATOR OF CREATIVE CITIES INSTITUTE	CREATIVE CITIES INSTITUTE, YILDIZ TECHNIC UNIVERSITY	2010, JANUARY	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ	30 MINUTES
Int-34	FILM FESTIVAL COORDINATOR	ISTANBUL FOUNDATION FOR CULTURE AND ARTS (IKSV)	2010, JANUARY	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS	30 MINUTES
Int-35	DIRECTOR OF ISTANBUL FILM FESTIVAL	ISTANBUL FOUNDATION FOR CULTURE AND ARTS (IKSV)	2010, JANUARY	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	OFIS	10 MINUTES
Int-36	CHAIR OF BEYDER	BEYDER	2010, JANUARY	SCHEDULED/FACE TO FACE	CAFÉ	30 MINUTES

APPENDIX 8: EARLY HISTORY OF SOHO

Evolution of Soho: Sixteenth-Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries

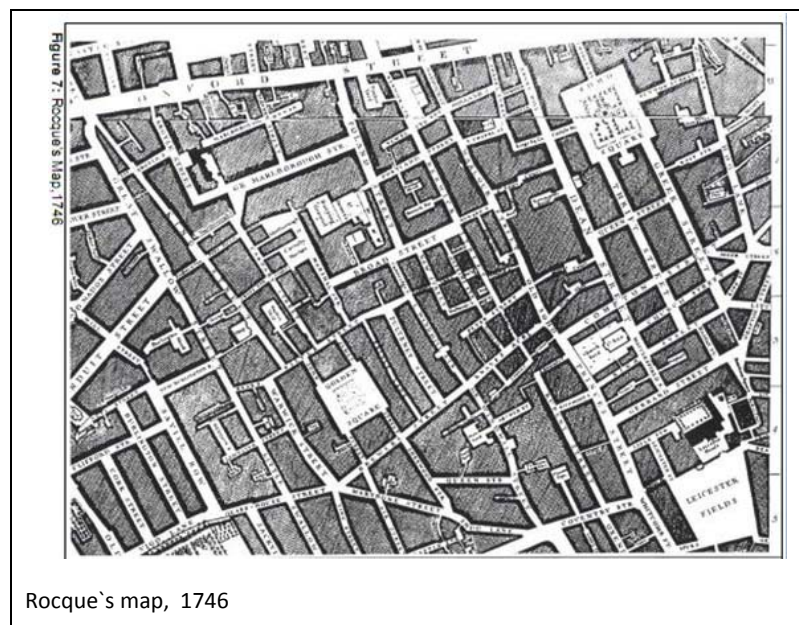
The area of Soho was once farmland and it was used as such until 1536 when the land was taken over by Henry VII who made it into a royal park where the aristocracy went hunting. The building process started in the late sixteenth century and Soho was mainly built between the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries without any professional planning intervention until the mid-eighteenth century when the first planning interventions were applied. Rather than the institutional planning, several factors affected the development process such as dissolution of the Monasteries, ownership pattern, privately owned patchwork of estates, and a piecemeal development process involving speculators and developers who were not professional architects or builders. Other major events such as the Great Plague (1664), the Great Fire (1666), the Cholera Outbreak (1854) and the Blitz (1940) affected the development of Soho (Hanson, 2005; Summers, 1989; Tames, 1994). In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Soho witnessed several decline and growth cycles which resulted from changes in the dynamics of the population, and the change in building and streetscape quality. These changes and factors introduced above set out the physical conditions of Soho suggesting that they played a positive role in clustering as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4. These factors and the concurrent major events in the history of Soho are explained in detail below.

Soho Fields originally were religiously owned, belonged to Westminster Abbey. The land was divided by Wardour Street into the Parish of St Anne, between Hog Lane (Charing Cross Road) and Colman Hedge Lane (Wardour Street), and the Parish of St James (Sheppard, 1966), as shown in Figure 9.1 With the dissolution of the Monasteries it was leased to the Crown and to other private companies. After the parcels were redistributed it became a privately owned patchwork of estates which accelerated the piecemeal development process in the area (Tames, 1994).



Figure 9.1. Parish of St James and Parish of St Anne (Sheppard, 1966)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Soho was sold in parcels by the Crown to aristocracy aiming to develop the land as grand fashionable neighbourhoods for the rich. The land was then sold off as a large number of small plots with a complicated pattern of ownership. This piecemeal development of Soho produced the urban pattern we see today, with its varying street widths and haphazard alignments. The ownership structure was the key factor in this piecemeal development. The first planning intervention was not until the mid eighteenth century. Rocque's map of 1746 shows the street layout very much as it is today (Sheppard, 1966) (Figure 9.2).



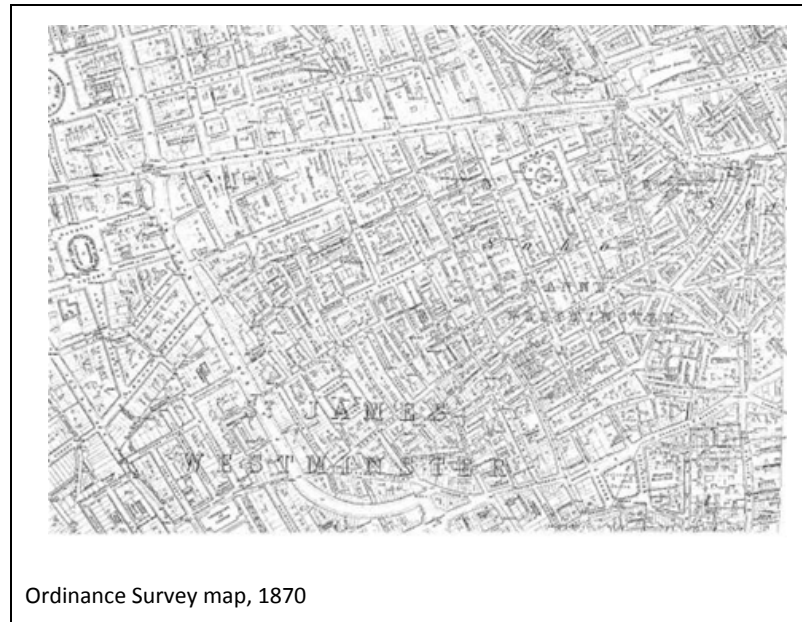


Figure 9.2. Historical Soho Maps (Westminster City Archive)

Soho fields were very important as a source of fresh water, and building was prohibited. Building outside the City of London was prohibited till the 1580s when the Crown granted development licences to raise money. This affected Soho as well as other nearby districts (Tames, 1994). Speculators leased large parcels of land in the fields from the Crown tenants and started to build (Summers, 1989). As well as these changes, major events such as the Great Fire (1666), the Great Plague (1664), the Cholera Outbreak (1854) and the Blitz (1940) affected the development of Soho (Hanson, 2005). Development had not been going long when the *Great Plague* halted the building process in 1664. After the plague the rich left Soho and only the poor, unemployed and sick remained. Infected houses were boarded up for 40 years with people inside. A pest house and Craven's hospital were built in the Soho fields in 1630 which is known as Pesthouse Close today. People were buried here. It was not safe to build in Soho till the 1730s (Haye and Clark, 2010; Tames, 2004).

The Great Fire of London had another impact on the building process. The fire started in a city bakery in Pudding Lane in the City in 1666; 13,000 houses were destroyed and 100,000 citizens died. This accelerated the building process as Soho was an important location, being close to the City of London and the royal palaces. A massive, hasty building process continued for 40–50 years (Hanson, 2005). By 1680, grand private houses had been built and most of the district as we know it today had appeared. According to Summers (1989) the building process was illegal and the building quality was poor and these major events produced an illicit development without plan or permission. In order to cut costs the buildings were not very detailed and were mass produced to a low standard of building quality (Summers, 1989).

Developers

As well as these key events, other major actors accelerated the built-up process. It was not the land owners or the planners who controlled the process; it was the developers that shaped the urban fabric of Soho. Soho was built by speculators rather than the kind of professional developers we know today. In the 1630s there was a shift in the professions. Everybody wanted to be a builder as it was seen as an easy way to get rich. People were changing their profession and switching, for example, from brewing or wax chandelling to carpentry and other construction-related trades (Sheppard, 1966). Soho developers were small-time businessmen with little or no knowledge of building or town planning. They were not specialist architects or urban planners (Tames, 1994). Richard Frith and Dr. Nicholas Barbon were the most influential developers. Nicholas Barbon was an economist who invented fire insurance after the Great Fire of London (Hanson, 2005). His ideas inspired many people in economic studies and practice. Instead of taking responsibility for all the development costs, he shared the tasks and costs of the development with other builders such as bricklayers and carpenters. As there were many developer-builders in Soho this human resource was an opportunity for Barbon. Karl Marx, who also lived for a time in Soho (Wheen, 2008), argued that he elucidated Barbon's ideas in *Das Capital*.

Growth: Heydays

Although it was not as fashionable a district as the neighbourhoods closest to the centres of power in Mayfair and Fitzrovia, Soho nonetheless attracted many nobility and gentry. By the 1680s it was a well developed area of London where all the artists and important people lived. It attracted nobility such as princes and princesses, dukes and other famous and creative people. Grand houses¹ were built by private family estates such as the Pulteney, Salisbury and Leicester Estates. These big houses hosted grand parties and masquerades that attracted nobility and gentry into the area. As well as being a venue for events, parties and exhibitions, Summer (1989) noted that Leicester House particularly became the centre for political opposition.

As well as the grand houses, most of the urban fabric was built during this period, which was also followed by a decline process as explained below. The decline and growth process is

¹ Leicester House, Saville House (1630-1791), Monmouth House (1682-1730), Fauconberg House (1683-1924), Carlisle House I (1685-1791), Carlisle House II (1685-1941) (Tames, 1994)

highly related to population change and the change in building and streetscape quality. The dynamics between decline and growth are also related to creativity, as explored below.

Decline and Reconstruction

In the eighteenth century poor building quality and lack of coherent planning made Soho less fashionable and wealthier residents began to move away to more prestigious districts west of Regent Street (Mayfair) or north of Oxford Street (Fitzrovia) (Tames, 1994). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Soho became known as one of the worst slum districts in London (Tames, 1994). At the same time the decline in building conditions attracted financial interests to the area. Extensive rebuilding between 1723 and 1740 coincided with an increase in population. Overcrowded areas and the worst conditions were cleared and replaced by blocks of new model dwellings. This development attracted new kinds of people. Victorian philanthropists established hospitals to deal with local health problems and charity houses were opened to provide temporary shelters for the homeless (Westminster City Council, 2005). At that time the area attracted many immigrants who played an important role in making its creative environment. As well as contributing to the cosmopolitan lifestyle, these foreigners increased diversity and brought new ideas as the contribution to the creative milieu, which is explained in the following sections.

Soho's reputation as the home of the titled classes had faded and most of the aristocrats who had leased houses here during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had moved on to Mayfair, St James and Hyde Park as the flats and houses there were more spacious. However, around the 1750s, Soho was still one of London's smartest districts and was not as expensive as Mayfair. As the mansions were vacated by aristocrats, foreign ambassadors moved in. These houses and Soho were perfect bases for perpetuating the continental atmosphere. Wealthy businessman and politicians also snapped up large Soho houses when they became vacant (Summers, 1989). Vacant houses accelerated the redevelopment process in Soho as they attracted financial interests to Soho. The short building leases obtained by the original developers came to an end, and longer leases granted by the ground landlords allowed developers like Barbon and Frith to mass-produce more substantial new homes. A Special Act of Parliament was passed for the better paving and lighting of the parish of St Anne: stone roads and raised pavements separating pedestrians from carriages were laid (Summers, 1989).

Socio-cultural history

It is also useful to briefly explain the socio-cultural environment of Soho in the eighteenth century which gave rise to the production of art in Soho. Soho has been associated with art

since the sixteenth century. The type of artistic activity changed over time depending on the dynamics and the socio-spatial conditions of the era. French Huguenots were involved in arts and crafts in the seventeenth century; and musicians, painters and writers in the eighteenth century and film and media dominated the majority of clusters in Soho in the twentieth century.

At different times, Soho was home to Karl Marx, Isaac Newton, Casanova, William Hazlitt, Caneletto, Haydn and Mozart and many other artists, scientists, writers, painters and musicians. The houses where these famous people lived in Soho have blue plaques commemorating their residence; today there are nearly 50 of these commemorative plaques. It is said that all the houses in Soho could be marked with plaques as it has been home to so many artists through the centuries (Figure 9.3).

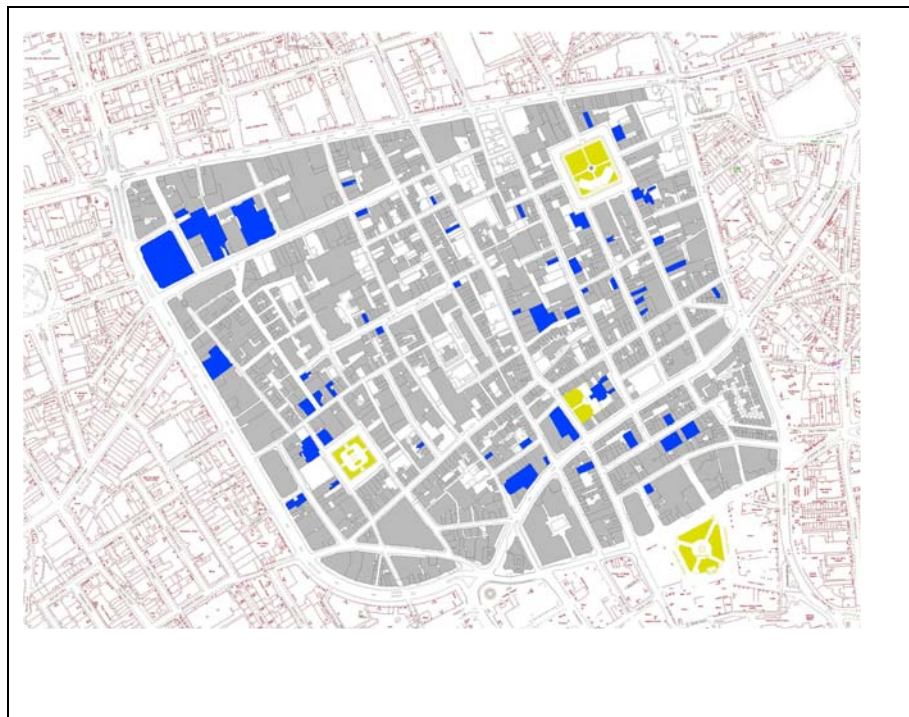


Figure 9.3. Blue Plaques: Houses of famous people/creatives/scientists

Marx worked in his room at 28 Dean Street and in the British Library Reading Room, as well as in cafes and pubs. He gave lectures in a room above the Red Lion Pub on Great Windmill Street (Briggs and Callow, 2008). The quality of his flat and the living room was described as below:

“They lived in one of the worst, and hence the cheapest quarters of London...Everything is dirty, everything covered with dust; it is dangerous to sit down... There is not one piece of good, solid furniture in the entire flat. Everything is broken, tattered and torn, finger-thick dust everywhere and everything in the greatest disorder” (Briggs and Callow, 1982: 44).

Creative people are the catalyst of Soho’s creative environment that has attracted further talented and creative people. In the seventeenth century, creative people provided the

bohemian atmosphere; nowadays it is the creative industries that supply the artistic production:

“Soho has been the residence of artists, con-artists and artisans, a place of grandiose schemes that ended in spectacular failure of chameleonic names and muddled sexual identities. It has attracted the bizarre; the outlandish and wildly eccentric people” (Summers, 1989: 6).

In addition to artists, immigrants, refugees, reformists and political exiles running away from social pressure, war and conflicts in Europe lived in Soho, particularly in the eighteenth century as it was cheap. From the mid seventeenth century, Greeks (especially those moving from Ottoman-controlled lands), and also Huguenots, French Protestants and religious refugees who were fleeing from French religious suppression, settled in Soho. These people found an environment where they could express themselves freely in the highly tolerant atmosphere of Soho. These refugees included talented artists, thinkers and craftsmen who carried their specialisms with them and enriched Soho’s atmosphere by settling there. Cheap, ordinary Soho and a mixed housing stock created a convenient atmosphere for them to settle down (Collins, 2004; Int-S21²; Summers, 1989; Tames, 1994). It is possible to speculate that these people introduced the creative dynamics to the area.

Soho was famous for gunsmiths and watch-making, a ‘work and live’ place for silver smiths and jewellers, as well as a home for music and theatre (Tames, 1994). Most of the musical instruments used in the theatres and concert halls were made in Soho. Soho was the home of violin making (Wardour Street) and piano making (Broadwick Street). The history of artistic production in Wardour Street goes back to 1860 when Chanot, the famous violin maker, moved to the street and opened his workshop at 157 Wardour Street. His craftsmen used the ground floors and the backyards of their houses as their workshop and atelier (Navarre, 2007). As Wardour Street was always an important location for artistic activity this also might have contributed to the clustering of the film companies there since 1908 (See Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

² This is the coding for the personal interviews. The details of the interviewee are listed in the Appendix 7b. In the following sections the same coding system will be used to refer the interviewees

APPENDIX 9-A SOHO: PROJECTS AND RESEARCH REPORTS

Soho Action Plan, 2006

This is one of the area-based 5 year action plans for London's West End. The plan comes with a shared vision named 'One Soho, One City, One Action Plan' in which focus groups of residents, businesses and traders set out a shared vision for Soho's future. Westminster's broader planning policies and supplementary local plans, like the Soho Action Plan, contain a range of proposals relating to environmental, social, cultural and physical development like waste management, traffic management, pedestrian and cycle movements, legibility and signage, noise and green space and biodiversity. The Soho Action plan contains 65 actions for Soho under the themes of Order, Opportunity, Enterprise and Renewal. In this plan there is also stress on improving the quality of the built environment. However this has not been applied yet (Int-S10; Int-S25; Westminster City Council, 2006).

Westminster's Creative Industries Report, 2007

This is a cross border initiative aimed at joint working with other boroughs, for example Millbank-Vauxhall, and the provision of affordable workspaces for creative industry start-ups and small enterprises. Renewal is perceived to be important for a creative industries cluster to flourish. This renewal involves the provision of small business space, improvement of the public realm, the protection of music venues and an appropriate mix of uses (Int-S10; Westminster City Council, 2007b).

Retrofitting Soho, 2008

Retrofitting Soho criticizes the shortcomings of the Conservation Audit and emphasizes the need to provide a basis for informed design guidance based on a building's age, spatial form, mass and usage. It is a project funded by Westminster City Council, English Heritage, the Soho Community Environment Fund, The Crown Estate and Shaftesbury PLC conducted by the University of Westminster Max Lock Centre. It aims to improve the sustainability of Soho and Chinatown, reducing local carbon emissions and improving efficiency and energy. The project outlines how an urban design and typological approach could improve the sustainability of buildings in Soho and Chinatown. It includes analyses and recommendations for Soho to improve its urban fabric and building quality. It also contains a framework for the listed buildings that are defined within conservation audit and have special planning constraints (Int-S25; Lloyd-Jones et al., 2008).

APPENDIX 9-B: SOHO: COMMUNITY GROUPS

Westminster City Partnership, 2002

The Westminster City Partnership (WCP), set up in 2002, is a partnership between Westminster City Council, other public sector agencies, voluntary and community sectors, local businesses, regeneration partnerships and residents' groups, under the Council's community leadership.³ Its aim is to make sure Westminster's partners work better together to provide the services that local people want. The WCP is not a statutory or a legally constituted body. It is a voluntary partnership, made up of local organisations that are committed to working together to improve the quality of life in Westminster. It has six thematic networks: housing, liveability, a safer West End, health and wellbeing and community as shown in Chapter 5, Section 5.7 (Westminster City Partnership, n.d).

Westminster Community Network, 2003

Westminster Community Network, set up by WCP in 2003, is a network of voluntary and community organisations in Westminster that takes part in local strategic decision-making. WCP works in collaboration with SCAF through West End Community Network and West End Community Trust (Int-S4; Int-S26; Westminster Community Network, n.d).

SCAF (Soho Caring Agencies Forum, 2001)

The Forum is a network of community and statutory groups and brings together representatives from the different agencies working in Soho. SCAF was formed in 2001 by the rector of St Anne's Church and the chief executive of Soho Housing Association. SCAF is an organisation comprising 60 different members, with various charities, community centres, religious and faith groups, police offices, health centres and other organisations taking place in Soho and nearby working and developing projects for the sake of Soho Community. Member organisations include the Soho Society, Soho Housing Association, and Soho Museum which all have an important role on the development, preservation and representation of the built fabric of Soho. It has a very active role in the preparation of Soho Action Plan (Int-S4; West End Community Trust, n.d).

³ Westminster City Council, Westminster Primary Care Trust (NHS), Metropolitan Police, Cross River Partnership, Paddington Development Trust, Voluntary Action Westminster and Octavia Housing and Care

West End Community Trust (2010)

This is another community network and charity formed as a network for those involved in the neighbourhood to get together to share ideas, talk over problems and work together to improve the lives of people living and working in Soho. The trust works together with SCAF and West End Time Bank. SCAF works together with West End Community Trust and also Westminster Community Network (Int-S4; Int-S26).

Time Bank, 2009

This is another community network in Soho aiming to foster neighbourhood relations, organize events for locals and help elderly people who need care. It is based on membership and skills exchange on the bases of time credits. People help each other using their skills, knowledge and they earn time credits which they can ask for help when they need. It aims to preserve the neighbourhood relations: *its motto is: Give what you can, take what you want* (Int-S4; Int-S26).

Soho Museum, 1990

A group of residents living in Soho formed the Soho Museum to document and archive material relating to Soho's history. They launched the group to build a traditional museum within a building but then the idea changed to creating a virtual museum. The aim of the group is to collect any map, painting, print, or document relating to the oral or written history, videos, films and Soho stories. They want to share the information online like the other virtual museums in the world⁴. They collaborate with other local community organisations in Soho, in community matters and organising events, and in developing projects for Soho (Int-S2; Int-S23).

Kairos in Soho (KiS)

KiS is a community organisation and a registered charity. KiS's vision is to provide of a society where every lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) person is able to fully reach their aspirations, be well and live free from prejudice, harassment and discrimination. KiS is also active in the Safer Neighbourhood Team and works with other organisations and neighbourhoods to overcome the problems in Soho. They are also a member of the Soho Caring Agencies Forum. So far the group has concentrated on the green audit for Soho facilities, an audit of community facilities, with a particular focus on disability access into community premises, and noise and lighting issues (Int-S16).

⁴ MoMa, Blue World Map Museum, Virtual Museum of Canada and etc

APPENDIX 9-C: SOHO: BUSINESS NETWORKS

Safer Soho Business Partnership, 2010

There are business oriented campaigns and partnerships that aim to attract business into the area. The Safer Soho Business Partnership is a crime reduction scheme run in partnership with the Metropolitan Police Service and Westminster City Council. It is a private company run by the Board Management⁵ working closely with Westminster City Council and Metropolitan Police (Safer Soho, n.d).

I Love Soho Campaign, 2006

This campaign was launched to attract business back into the heart of Soho in 2006. The campaign, called *I Love Soho*, was created by a high profile Marketing Manager Prannay Rughani who heads up the Soho Clubs and Bars Group. This business-based campaign created *I love Soho* image and fostered co-operation in the district. *I love Soho* brand was very successful and used on souvenirs like mugs, keys and t-shirts. The campaign was supported by the Mayor of London, the Soho Society, Westminster Council (I love Soho, 2010)

⁵ Ward Councillor, Chairman of the Chinese Community Centre, Director of Shaftesbury PLC and a landowner in Soho, Chairman of the Soho Safer Neighbourhood Panel, a board member of the Soho Housing Association and a member of the Soho Action Plan Steering Group and Soho Green, a local registered charity, managing director of Soho Estates and member of a business alliance, a gay bar owner, police officers, environmental health officer, vice-chairman of the Westminster Community/Police Consultative Group, a web administrator and IT

APPENDIX 9-D: SOHO: CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE

Trenchard House, built in 1940 is a purpose built police house. The Metropolitan Police Authority used the building till 2000. Now it is vacant and owned by English Partnership.

Kemp House is a council housing block developed by WCC in 1962. The podium of Kemp House accommodates a text editing Film Company that moved in 2001 and a PR company specialising in the film industry. It has 111 flats and is managed by City West Homes which an agency is looking after council properties established in 2002. It has a resident group network named Kems House Residential Association.

Ingestre Court, was designed by the city council's architects in 1975 and has 15 floors in residential use with 52 flats and is also occupied by a post production and media company on the ground floors. In 1996 permission was granted for the use of basement, ground and second floors for Class B1 office use. There are couple of new buildings in Soho with modern innovative design such as Broadwick House, Hills Place and Salt House and some other new developments.

Broadwick House (Ingeni Office) Broadwick Street (Richard Rogers, 1996-2002)

Broadwick House, one of the most recent new architectural developments in Soho, is a Richard Roger designed 6 floor office building on the corner of Broadwick Street and Berwick Street. The building is supported by WCC as an exemplar of modern design within the historic Conservation Area of Soho. On completion the building was let to Ford Motor Company for its London design studio. Broadwick House was especially chosen by Ford who wanted a building that demonstrated a clear and sophisticated design approach, offering a stimulating environment for the Ford creative team. It is a private initiative (launched by the owner of the site and supported by WCC) replacing the existing 1930s post office building. The building is designed to allow different type of tenancies based on the current market requirements in Soho. There are possibilities for separate tenancies or as a single let, either cellular or fully open plan. Due to the complexity of the area and the prominence of the site and the sensitivity of the context, the building process had a long planning process with consultation with the Royal Fine Art Commission and English Heritage.

SaltHouse, Berwick Street (2010)

Mixed use redevelopment of a site which contains row of a dilapidated terraced houses containing brothels which were dislodged by a compulsory purchase order. The building was seen as rehabilitating this area where there was a concentration of sex related business known

as Sin Alley. The new building provides five retail units at basement and ground levels, with three floors and a penthouse, providing 15 apartments (Ramboll-Structure, 2011) Newmark Property Investments)

APPENDIX 10: EARLY HISTORY OF BEYOGLU

Evolution of Beyoglu

Istanbul being on an important sea trade route from the Black Sea going south has been a popular stopover and also a destination for European sea merchants, especially Genovese and Venetians. The eighteenth century industrial revolution and the Ottoman Empire's award of concession for foreign trade accelerated sea trade in Galata port which was one of the key medieval Mediterranean ports (Ergun, 2004). Settlement began around the port and the medieval fortified settlement of Galata and then spread north towards Pera⁶. Storage warehouses, embassies, banks, and the finance offices of these foreign trading companies were established around Galata and eventually these people also settled in Pera (Akin, 2008). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Pera became a fashionable embassy neighbourhood dominated by a European and non-Muslim population. Batur (nd) argued that, in addition to the differences in the urban fabric, there were socio-cultural differences between Pera and Galata. Pera was a luxury, aristocratic residential neighbourhood with a stylish European lifestyle and containing many cafes, theatres, patisseries whereas Galata was more cosmopolitan with a village-like environment and an organic pattern of taverns, cabarets and narrow streets. The historical maps of Galata and Pera are shown in Figure 9.3.



Figure 9.3. Historical Maps of Galata and Pera (Beyoglu Municipality, 2010; Int-B29)

As well as the foreign population and sea trade, urban solutions to environmental problems of fires, and water distribution affected the building process in Beyoglu. The sixteenth and

⁶ **Pera** is the old name of Beyoglu (means "across" in Greek). Meaning 'opposite shore', it generally referred to the shore opposite the harbour of the Golden Horn. During Ottoman times, it came to refer to the section of Beyoglu between Taksim Square and Tunel with all its residing foreigners. The fortified enclave of lower Galata's Jewish, Italian and French were to become the later inhabitants of Pera.

seventeenth centuries saw a shortage of water in Beyoglu. As Pera was located on the hill, nearly 80 metres higher than sea level, the supply of water was difficult. It was not developed till 1723 when the new fountains and water pumping stations were built in Taksim Square⁷ (Baykan and Hattuka, 2010). In particular, the new water distribution system accelerated the urban development in Pera. The location of Taksim Square and the section of Beyoglu are shown in Figure 9.4.



Figure 9.4 Taksim Square and Istanbul Bosphorous (Skyscrapercity, 2011)

Another factor that had an impact on its development process was the big Beyoglu fire which broke out in 1870. Following this, in terms of fire precautions, some new architectural styles and urban design principles were introduced. Batur (nd) described the new architecture as a 'European Style' with stone facades, compared to the traditional Ottoman settlements. The original buildings of the seventeenth century Ottoman houses were replaced by Western-style apartment buildings, transforming the architecture from private, two-storey traditional timber houses to multiple-storey stone buildings (Akin, 1998; Celik, 1993). These new houses did not have private gardens; instead they had back gardens in a narrower plot plan with a direct relation with the street which also accelerated the office and shop use on the ground floors. These new types of houses may have been one of the factors that accelerated the European settlement in the area. As well as these new developments, streets were reorganised, and dead ends were demolished based on the new principles of the Tanzimat Charter to facilitate access in the event of a fire (Celik, 1993).

⁷ **Taksim** means distribution; and the name derives from the function of the area as it was the place where the water was distributed to nearby districts